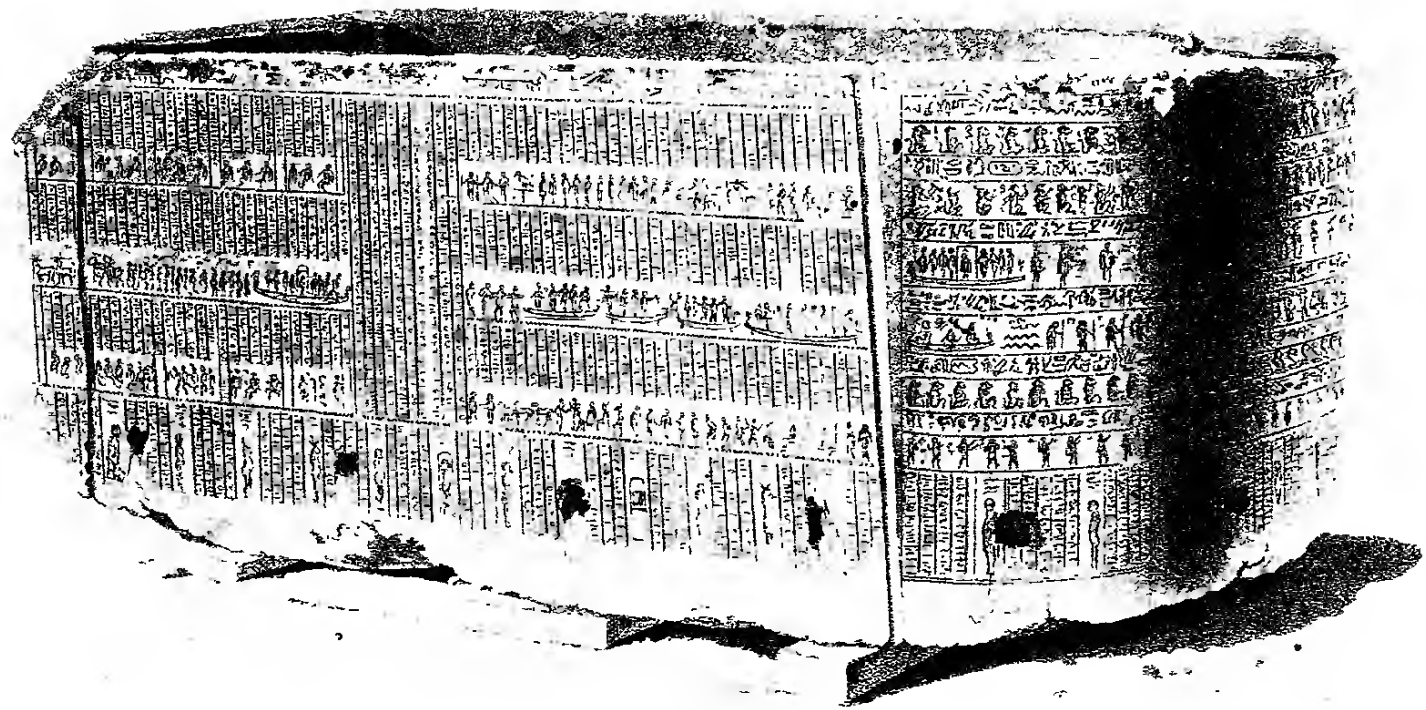

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THE

# TOMB OF ALEXANDER

A

## DISSERTATION

ON THE

## SARCOPHAGUS

## BROUGHT FROM ALEXANDRIA

AND NOW IN

## *THE BRITISH MUSEUM*

BY

EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE LL.D.

FELLOW OF JESUS COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE.

Thos. Foulkes

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LORD HUTCHINSON

LATE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES IN EGYPT

THIS DISSERTATION

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BY

THE AUTHOR.

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# LIST OF PLATES.

I. THE TOMB *of* ALEXANDER, engraved by Medland, from a drawing by W. Alexander.

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IV. PORTRAIT *of* ALEXANDER THE GREAT, from a Medal of Lysimachus; drawn by R. Howard, and engraved by Anker Smith.

V. VIGNETTE, page 23, engraved by Anker Smith.

1. Portrait of Alexander, from a Gold Medal of Lysimachus, purchased by the Author in the Isle of Patmos.
2. Reverse of the Silver Tetradrachm of Lysimachus, from which the enlarged Portrait of Alexander was taken in the Fourth Plate. The Medal from which those Drawings were made was purchased by the Author at Athens.
3. Reverse of the Gold Medal.

*N. B.* For the Drawing from which this Vignette has been engraved, the Author is indebted to the Daughter of W. Wilkins, Esq. of Cambridge.

Intact 15-5-23

# INTRODUCTION.

THE different inquiries in the following dissertation may possibly add something to our knowledge of a very curious subject. Some exercise may be offered to the ingenuity of the learned, and some points of antient history subjected to a more minute investigation. If a partiality for the subject has induced the Author to consider the evidence he has produced as undeniable, he wishes to be understood with reference to such proofs, and to such evidence, as the nature of the discussion will admit.

The application given to the word *Tomb* may perhaps be deemed inconsistent with its original and primary signification in the English language. A *Sarcophagus* may be thought rather more accurately defined by the term *Coffin*; but this also is liable to objection. The particular kind of receptacle to which the appellation of a *Sarcophagus* has been usually given, was sometimes buried beneath a mound of earth, and at others placed, by itself, near the public

roads and the cities of the antients; in which latter case, it can only be considered as a *Tomb*. The monument here referred to, is like the Sarcophagus, commonly called *the Tomb of Nero*, at three miles distance from Rome, near the Aemilian Bridge, on the *Via Cassia*[a]. Artists, anxious to represent the true form of *the Greek Tomb*, have recourse to models of the same kind. The author has therefore preferred the use of the word *Tomb* in the title of his work; because he considered it more peculiarly appropriate to the subject. It is necessary to mention this, as the same word will occur in the course of the investigation applied to the building in which the Tomb of Alexander was found. To explain this, it may not be improper to apprize the Reader, that, as the cemetery of the kings of Egypt was originally a monument constructed for the reception of Alexander's body, historians, in speaking of his Tomb, sometimes give that name to the Sarcophagus in which the body was inclosed, and sometimes to the whole building, in the area of which the Tomb was found. When Strabo has occasion to mention this edifice, he uses the word ΣΩΜΑ, or *body*, which some commentators have considered an error in the text, and have been desirous to substitute a different reading in the word ΣΗΜΑ, or *monument*. It is of no consequence to the evidence adduced in this work, whether the name be

[a] It was erected for *Publius Vibius Marianus* and his Wife, by their Daughter, as appears from the inscription preserved in Gruter (Tom. II. p. 407. N° 6.), who has stated the distance from the city erroneously, in declaring it to be two miles, instead of three.

ΣΩΜΑ or ΣΗΜΑ. The Author has rather preferred the former: conceiving it highly probable that the building was named in honour of the body, for which it was erected. In so doing he is supported by the authority of Sandys, who adopted the reading as he found it in Strabo, and therefore calls the building SOMIA.

It has been somewhat loosely affirmed, that the Egyptians always buried their dead in an upright posture; which can neither be reconciled with the appearance of the tombs of the kings of Thebes, nor with the evidence afforded by the principal pyramid at Memphis. The interior chamber of that monument exhibits at this moment a Sarcophagus similar to the Tomb of Alexander. Another, of the same size and the same form, is now in the British Museum. It was brought by the French from Caïro to Alexandria, and has been described by Pococke, Maillet, Niebuhr, and Browne. It once stood near the Old Castle *Kallaat el Kabsh* in Caïro, and was called the *Lover's Fountain.* Denon, in his description of the Theban tombs, not only proves that such a mode of burial was consistent with the customs of Egypt in the remotest periods of its history, but he refers to the particular Sarcophagus which forms the subject of this work, to explain the sort of receptacle in which the bodies were placed. "The sarcophagi," says he[b], "appeared insulated at the bottoms

[b] Denon's Voyage en Egypte, Tom. I. p. 236.

of all the galleries, of a single block of granite each, of twelve feet in length, and eight in width, decorated within-side and without with hieroglyphics; rounded at one end, squared at the other, LIKE THAT OF ST. ATHANASIUS AT ALEXANDRIA; and surmounted by lids of the same materials, and proportionate bulk, shutting with grooves."

The hieroglyphic writing, and the mystic symbols which cover the Tomb on all sides, has moreover led some to assert that its antiquity is greater than the age of Alexander. In answer to which, it may be urged, that the inscription on the Rosetta Stone, written in the same characters, by the priests of Egypt, was executed at a much later date, during the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes. It may also be remarked, that the very city in which the Tomb was found, and where it seems always to have been preserved, owed its origin to Alexander.

The author hopes he shall not be considered as having digressed too much from his chief subject, by the brief description he has given of the antiquities which mark the site of the antient city of Saïs in the Delta. He has given it as it occurs in his Journal; conceiving it too interesting to be withheld from the public. He confesses it would have been less obtrusive in an Appendix; and if he had known, at the time when that part of his work was preparing for the press, that such additions would be made, it would have been inserted with the account of the discovery of the Ruins of Tithorea.

The opinion which is expressed concerning the medals of Lysimachus, may probably meet with some opposition; though it be not unsupported by learned authority. The celebrated Goltzius entertained a similar notion[c]; and the ingenious Fauvel is cited as having the same opinion, by the French translator of Arrian[d]. Some observations on the apotheosis and portrait of Alexander will form the rest of this Introduction; because they materially affect the evidence respecting his Tomb. As a prelude to the history of an Egyptian monument, characterized by signs that have no reference to the language or mythology of Greece, it is of consequence to show that the superstition respecting Alexander's Tomb was not Grecian, but Egyptian; that his image was reverenced after his death; and that, in the various homage thus paid to him, he was worshipped as an EGYPTIAN GOD. The apotheosis typified on the medals of Lysimachus will then appear further confirmed by the collateral

[c] "Nomismata Lysimachi nullâ explicatione indigent siquidem: ab unâ parte caput ejus spectatur cum arietinis cornubus, MULTI SUSPICANTUR ALEXANDRI ESSE." The same head, when covered with the lion's skin, he also allows to be that of Alexander, although on a medal of Lysimachus. "Ultimo verò nummo potiùs videtur esse ALEXANDRI MAGNI EFFIGIES QUAM LYSIMACHI, in honorem magni ejus regis. *Goltzii Opera, de Re Nummariâ.* Tom. III. pp. 194, 195. Antwerp, 1708. The opinion gains additional weight, by observing, from the same authority, that Lysimachus was not the only successor of Alexander who expressed his portrait on medals. Goltzius also affirms (p. 197. *ibid.*) that it appears on the medals of Ptolemy *Ceraunus*, as well as on those of Lysimachus. NUMMUS EJUS, UT ET LYSIMACHI, ALEXANDRUM MAGNUM EXPRIMIT."

[d] Arrien, par Chaussard, Tom. IV. p. 180.

evidence of hieroglyphic characters inscribed upon the Tomb; nor will the sacred writing of the priests of Egypt appear more peculiarly appropriate, than upon a monument which inclosed the body of the son of Ammon.

The portrait of Alexander has been sought by the moderns among the medals, gems, marbles, and bronzes of the antients. In the time of the Romans, it is well known, Augustus wore it as a signet ring[e]. But what induced the Roman emperor, attached as he was to Egyptian superstitions, to exchange his former symbol of the Sphinx for the head of Alexander? and how was it represented? This change took place in consequence of a visit paid by Augustus to Alexander's Tomb; whither he repaired to do him homage, as one of the gods of Egypt. Alexander was then worshipped in Alexandria as the son of the Egyptian Ammon; and the type of his apotheosis, the Ammonian horn, appears in almost every instance where his portrait is represented. The Ammon of Egypt was a deity which the inhabitants of that country worshipped under the form of a ram[f]. The Greeks, as it was their

[e] "In diplomatibus, libellisque, et epistolis signandis, initio *Sphinge* usus est: mox imagine Magni Alexandri."—Suetonius, edit. Casaubon. lib. ii. c. 50. p. 28. Paris, 1610.

[f] Because he was thus manifested on earth. He appeared under the form of a ram to Bacchus, and shewed him a fountain in the deserts of Libya, when his army was perishing for want of water. Bacchus erected on the spot a temple to the God. It was nine days' journey from Alexandria.—There is a very curious note on the meaning of the word *Ammon* in Jackson's Chronology, Vol. III. p. 7.

custom in speaking of the principal deity of any nation, gave him the appellation of Jupiter. *Jupiter Ammon* signified with them, what the *God Ammon* would do with us. But the idol by which this deity was represented had not the human form; as may be shown by the colossal fragment in the British Museum, and by other Egyptian antiquities. It is true that on some of the African medals, as those of *Cyrene*, a bearded head with the horns of a ram has received the appellation of Jupiter Ammon, by numismatic writers[g]; but with a strict attention to all the circumstances related by antient historians, we recognize on those medals the head of the Indian and Egyptian Bacchus, the same person that appears on the medals of *Thasus* and of *Naxus*, and who, as the son of Ammon, had, equally with Alexander, a title to the symbol by which his lineage is expressed. In later ages we find this symbol, together with types denoting other divinities, combined in the same figure. The Roman polytheism admitted, according to Varro, not less than three hundred persons under the name of Jupiter; and in the confusion with which they blended together all the parts of antient mythology, it was not unusual to find many of them comprised under one form. The statues of the Olympian or the Capitoline Jove were sometimes decorated with the symbols of Ammon, of Osiris, and of Belus.

[g] See Eckhel. Doct. Num. Vet. &c. Combe on Hunter's Medals, p. 122, &c.

Alexander's portrait thus offering a typical representation of the Son of Ammon, was expressed on medals in perfect agreement with the numismatic customs of the Macedonian kings. Human heads had never appeared on their medals prior to the deification of Alexander[h]. They contain, either the representation of some tutelar deity, or one of the various symbols by which divinities were expressed. The deified Alexander was the tutelar god of his successors; and his effigy worn, as in Catholic countries the inhabitants of particular cities now wear the images of their patron saints. History has proved that this custom prevailed in the time of Augustus[i]; and Chrysostom[k] inveighs

[h] See Opin. de Fauvel, Tom. IV. p. 180, de l'Arrien par Chaussard. But Le Blond, ibid. p. 154, mentions the heads of Syracusan kings, as seen on medals prior to the time of Alexander.

[i] Suetonius Casaubon. p. 28. l. 1.

[k] Τί ἂν τις εἴποι περὶ τῶν ἐπῳδαῖς καὶ περιάπτοις κεχρημένων, καὶ νομίσματα χαλκᾶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ περιδεσμούντων; Λῦται αἱ ἐλπίδες ἡμῶν, εἰπέ μοι, ἵνα, μετὰ σταυρὸν καὶ θάνατον δεσποτικὸν, εἰς Ἕλληνος βασιλέως εἰκόνα τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχῃς; Chrysostomi Opera, Tom. VI. p. 610. edit. Savil. Eton. 1612. "Quid vero diceret aliquis de his, qui carminibus et ligaturis utuntur, et de circumligantibus *ærea* Alexandri Macedonis numismata capiti vel pedibus? Dic mihi, hæ ne sunt expectationes nostræ, ut, post crucem et mortem dominicam, IN GENTILIS REGIS IMAGINE spem salutis *habeas*?" Interpret. Ducæi, edit. Paris. 1621.

The Latin interpretation of *Ducæus* has the word *aurea* instead of *ærea*. The word ΧΑΛΚΑ, which he allows to be in all the manuscripts, is authority for the alteration here used. The reading is corrected at the end of the volume; and a reference to the note on the words "*aurea Alexandri*" leads to information of more consequence to this inquiry than verbal criticism; as it affords an historical fact, that Alexander was admitted AMONG THE NUMBER OF THE GODS BY THE ROMAN SENATE. "Scripserat interpres *ærea*, vel *ænea*; tamen in Parisiensi Grom. *aurea*, dicuntur: omnes codd. habent χαλκά. Cæterùm collatus hic locus cum illo Hom. xxvi. in 2 ad Cor. p. 928. declarat non de

against the practice, which prevailed in his time, of making the bronze medals of Alexander a superstitious appendage to the head and the feet; reproaching the inhabitants of Antioch for placing their hope of salvation in the image of an infidel king. The same author relates[l], that the Roman Senate reckoned Alexander their *thirteenth god,* as will further appear in the course of the work. His commentator, doubting the truth of this circumstance[m], seems not aware that Clemens Alexandrinus had recorded the same fact above two centuries before[n]. The custom of the Roman citizens, and of their emperors, in wearing the portrait of Alexander, is thus explained. Of all the accounts which describe this ancient superstition, that which Trebellius Pollio records of the Macrian family is the most remarkable[o]. They had Alexander's portrait, as

Alexandro ullo alio Imperatore illic agi, quàm de Macedonum rege, quem A SENATU ROMANO RELATUM IN NUMERUM DEORUM NARRAT." Notæ Frontonis Ducæi in Chrysostomum, p. 60. The same authority admits the insertion of ἔχῃς pro ἔχωμεν in the Greek text, and *habeas* for *habeamus* in the Latin interpretation.

l Chrysostom. in Epist. 2 ad Cor. Hom. xxvi. Tom. X. p. 624. edit. Montfaucon. Paris. 1732.

m "Quòd autem à Senatu Romano *tertius-decimus deus* declaratus sit, ut ait Chrysostomus, certè non constare videtur." Ibid.

n "These are they," exclaimed the indignant patriarch, "who were daring enough to convert men into deities: who reckoned as their THIRTEENTH GOD Alexander the Macedonian, whom Babylon exhibited a corpse." Οἵδε γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἀποθεοῦν τετολμήκασι, ΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἀναγράφοντες ΘΕΟΝ, ὃν Βαβυλὼν ἤλεγξε νεκρόν. Clement. Alexandrin. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 77. edit. Oxon. 1715.

o "Alexandrum Magnum Macedonem viri in auro et argento, mulieres in reticulis, et dextrocheriis, et in annulis, et in omni ornamentorum genere,

a talisman, in their ears, upon their hands, upon their clothes, and upon every article of external ornament, whether of their persons or their palaces. "The men," says he, speaking of that family, "had Alexander the Great, the Macedonian, wrought in gold and in silver; the women in net-work, on their bracelets, their rings, and in all kind of ornaments; so that the garments, embroidery, and matron vests of the family, exhibit, at this day, the image of Alexander, with various elegancies. We have lately beheld Cornelius Macer, a member of the same family, who gave a supper[p] in the temple of Hercules, present to the high-priest an *electrinal* patera[q], in the middle of which was Alexander's portrait, encircled by a representation of his whole history in minute figures; which he ordered to be carried round to all those who were his

exsculptum semper habuerunt: eousque ut tunicæ et limbi et penulæ matronales in familiâ ejus hodieque sint quæ Alexandri effigiem deliciis variantibus monstrent. Vidimus proximè Cornelium Macrum in eâdem familiâ virum, quum cœnam in templo Herculis daret, *pateram electrinam*, quæ in medio vultum Alexandri haberet, et in circuitu omnem historiam contineret signis brevibus et minutulis, pontifici propinare; quam quidem circum ferri ad omnes tanti illius viri cupidissimos jussit. Quod idcirco posui, quia dicuntur JUVARI IN OMNI ACTU SUO QUI ALEXANDRUM EXPRESSUM VEL AURO GESTITANT VEL ARGENTO." Trebell. Pollio, Quiet. xiii. p. 1090. edit. Hist. Rom. Script. apud H. Steph. 1568.

[p] "*Who gave a supper in the temple of Hercules.*"] That is to say, a *lectisternium*, or feast offered to the Gods; when couches were spread, on which their images were placed, round the altars, covered with dishes. As this feast took place in the *temple of Hercules*, it is very probable, from the account given of the Macrian family, that the whole ceremony was in honour of Alexander.

[q] "*An electrinal patera.*"] Pliny describes *electrum* as a mixed metal, in which gold was united to one-fifth part of its weight of silver. Plin. Hist. Nat. Tom. II. p. 619. l. 7. edit. Harduin. Paris, 1723.

warmest votaries. I have mentioned this, because THEY ARE SAID TO BE BENEFITED IN ALL THEIR ACTIONS WHO WEAR THE PORTRAIT OF ALEXANDER EXPRESSED IN GOLD OR SILVER."

The symbol of the Ammonian horn could only be applied to Alexander. Ephippus of Olynthus, as cited by Athenæus[r], relates the fact of his having assumed the purple and horns of Jupiter Ammon during his life; wearing them as a customary part of his dress: and Clemens Alexandrinus has a passage more applicable to their appearance on the works of artists[s]. The head so characterized appears on a silver medal, with his name ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, and without any other inscription. Eckhel places it among the medals struck after his death[t]. It is extraordinary that such a representation should have passed for the portrait of Lysimachus; for the age of that monarch, after he succeeded to a throne in the partition of the Macedonian empire, neither corresponded with the youthful countenance displayed upon his medals, nor with the symbol by which

[r] Ἔφιππος δέ φησιν, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, ὅτε μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πορφυρίδα, καὶ περισχιδεῖς καὶ ΚΕΡΑΤΑ, καθάπερ ὁ θεός. "Ephippus scribit Alexandrum sacras etiam vestes in conviviis gestasse, nunc quidem Ammonis purpuream, per ambitum divisam, et CORNUA, tanquam Deum." Athenæi Deipnosoph. lib. xii. p. 537. edit. Casaubon.

[s] Ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἄμμωνος υἱὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν, καὶ κερασφόρος ἀναπλάττεσθαι ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΟΠΟΙΩΝ, τὸ καλὸν ἀνθρώπου ὑβρίσαι σπεύδων κέρατι.—— "Volnit autem Alexander filius videri Ammonis, et cornutus *à statuariis* effingi, humanam formam turpi cornu dedecorans." Clement. Alexandrin. Cohort. ad Gent. p. 48. edit. Oxon.

[t] Doct. Num. Vet. Pars I. Vol. II. p. 110. edit. Vindobon. 1794.

it is dignified. Consistently with the usual practice, his superscription appears on the reverse, with the figure of Minerva; and on the front, the head of the NEW GOD, the protecting deity of the Macedonians, whose well-known countenance is ascertained by the attribute of his father Ammon. The policy of such a measure on the part of Lysimachus is very evident; for as historians have related[u], that Ptolemy, by the possession of Alexander's body, allured to his service many of the troops, Lysimachus was careful that his image should be seen expressed with the most scrupulous exactness on the money destined for the payment of his soldiers. And it may be remarked, that the countenance so delineated agrees with the age of Alexander at the time of his death, which took place in his thirty-third year.

But in proving the medals of Lysimachus to contain a portrait of Alexander, the author would not insinuate that no other medals exhibit the same features. It can hardly be doubted that those of his successors, representing a head covered with the lion's skin, and in which the features are sometimes exactly the same as those on the medals of Lysimachus, present also his portrait. The preference has been given to the medal here engraved, from the superior beauty of the work: though the medal described by *Cointreau*[w], and engraved by Chaussard[x], may,

[u] Diodor. Sic. lib. xviii. c. 28.

[w] Histoire abrégée du Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, par A. L. Comtreau. Paris. Pougens. An. 9. de la République.

[x] See Chaussard's Arrieu, Tom. IV. Pl. 8. Fig. 8.

with the utmost confidence, be considered as giving the portrait of Alexander. This last is said to have been struck in bronze, in one of the cities of Asia Minor founded by Alexander, bearing the name of Apollonia: it represents Alexander dressed as young Hercules, with the lion's spoils, a character he often assumed[y], with this inscription, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΚΤΙΣΤ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤ. Chaussard concludes his "*Monuments of the Portrait of Alexander*," by considering the head represented with the horn of Ammon, and that which appears on the medals of Apollonia[z], as undoubtedly authentic. This opinion is the result of the various evidence he had collected, and which will probably be considered sufficient to decide the question. It is moreover confirmed by an observation of Le Blond, in the Dissertation extracted from the Memoirs of the National Institute, which Chaussard included in that evidence[a]. It was the opinion of Le Blond, that the portrait of Alexander was also designed in those medals which exhibit the head of a young man covered with a lion's skin; and which, by representing Alexander in the character of Hercules, had occasioned the former to be mistaken for the latter[b]. The

[y] Athenæi Deipnosoph. lib. xii. p. 537. edit. Casaubon.

[z] Arrien par Chaussard, Tom. IV. p. 182. *Conclusion.*

[a] "Ce qui n'empêche pas que la tête, *ornée de cornes de bélier* sur les médaillons d'or et d'argent de *Lysimaque*, ne soit regardé comme le portrait de ce prince." Arrien par Chaussard, Tom. IV. p. 153.

[b] It is no objection to this opinion that the same head appears on the medals of *Philippi*, and other cities. They were evidently struck posterior to the death of Alexander. It appeared also on the medals of his successor, Philip

ingenuity with which this opinion is supported may be seen by a recourse to his work[c]. The following passage only will be translated, as it appears of consequence to the present inquiry[d]: "But why suppose it Hercules? If Alexander had any intention to represent the head of a deity, would he not rather have chosen that of Minerva, which appears on his gold medals? And if it is supposed that he would have given the preference to a divinity, from whom he pretended to derive his origin, *would it not have been Jupiter Ammon*, since he caused himself, on that account, *to be represented with the horns of a ram?* Might he not have chosen Bacchus, from his propensity to *liber pater?* Nay, would he not have offered *his own person*, since he thought proper *to be considered as a god?* In short, why should not Alexander, who caused himself to be painted by Apelles as the thundering Jupiter, and to be represented in his statues with the attributes of *Jupiter Ammon*, choose to appear upon some of his medals with an attribute of Hercules?" Eckhel[e] believed that some of the bronze medals, struck in the time of Caracalla, on which a head appears covered by a lion's skin, present the features of Alexander; and the passage he cites from Constantine *Porphyrogennetes* further proves

Aridæus. Audoleon king of Pæonia, Arisbas king of Epirus, Lysimachus king of Macedon, Seleucus I. and Antiochus I. kings of Syria, distinguished their medals by a head with the lion's spoils.

[c] Arrien par Chaussard, Tom. IV. p. 154. [d] Ibid. p. 163.

[e] Doctrina Numorum Veterum, Pars I. Vol. II. p. 99. edit. Vindobon. 1794.

that Alexander was so represented on more antient coins. That emperor, speaking of the Macedonian kings, says[1], "*Instead of the diadem, crown, and regal purple, they decorated themselves with the skin of a lion's head; and they considered this as a crown, and as an ornament, and above every precious stone: to which the very medals of the Macedonian Alexander, adorned with such an image, bear ample testimony.*"

In addition to these remarks, and as a further proof that the medals of Lysimachus present a portrait of Alexander, may be mentioned the exact similitude which often appears between the features so expressed, and those which are accompanied by the lion's skin. There are some instances in which the large silver medals of Alexander and those of Lysimachus so clearly resemble each other, that it is impossible to admit a doubt of their having had a common archetype: and the likeness of the Roman Macedonian coins to some of the best of those under Lysimachus is too striking to be unperceived.

Carlo Fea, doubting the authenticity of the portraits of Alexander described by Winkelmann, mentions a marble

[1] Διὸ καὶ ἀντὶ ταινίας, καὶ στέμματος, καὶ πορφύρας βασιλικῆς, τῷ δέρματι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ λέοντος ἑαυτοὺς ταινιοῦσι. καὶ στέμμα τοῦτο καὶ κόσμον ἡγοῦνται, καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντα λίθον. καὶ μάρτυς ἀξιόπιστος αὐτὸ τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ Μακεδόνος Ἀλεξάνδρου, τοιαύτῃ εἰκόνι καλλωπιζόμενον. "Ideòque pro rediniculo, et coronâ, et purpurâ regiâ, leonini capitis exuvio se redimiunt: atque hoc gestamen coronam, et ornatum, esse censent; eòque magis, quàm pretiosis lapillis et unionibus se decorari putant. Ac testis hujus rei fide dignus est nummus Alexandri Macedonis, ejusmodi figurâ insignitus." —Constantin. Porphyrog. de Themat. lib. ii. thema ii. pp. 85, 86. edit. Elzevir. 1617.

bust, found at Tivoli, near Rome, to which, on the authority of Mengs, he gives the preference[g]. It has the following Greek inscription, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΜΑΚΕ . . . . . in characters coeval with the time of Alexander, if the authority cited by Carlo Fea be unquestionable[h]; which may admit dispute, as Montfaucon has proved that the circular *Omicron* was anterior to the character here used[i]. But since in this figure we recognize none of those traits by which historians have characterized the portrait of Alexander, it will be admitted, either that the artist failed in his intention, or that Alexander's name has been applied to a bust of some other person. And the latter occurs so frequently, that it offers the most probable conjecture. Le Blond did not consider the Tivoli marble as a genuine portrait of Alexander[k]. It is most likely that the portraits we have of him were executed after his death, from some of the few originals he suffered to be made. This opinion is supported by the authority of Eckhel[l]. A very remarkable

[g] See Note (1) to Winkelmann's Histoire de l'Art, &c. Tom. II. p. 305. and Pl. 8. edit. Paris. An. 2. de la République.

[h] Chron. et Crit. Hist. &c. Pars I. Tom. I. Proleg. I. § 62. p. 131. § 104. p. 220.

[i] Montfaucon. Paleographia, p. 336.—in proof of which see pp. 134, 135, for an Inscription coeval with the Peloponnesian war, erected 450 years before the birth of Christ. The square *Omicron*, it is true, appears upon medals of Amyntas; which numismatists have believed to belong to Amyntas the First, king of Macedon; because the characters on the medals of Amyntas the Second have a different form. Ibid. p. 131.

[k] Opin. de Le Blond, Tom. IV. p. 160, de l'Arrien par Chaussard.

[l] "Potius tenendum videtur, non exstare certum Alexandri nummum ejus effigie insignem, qui illius adhuc vivi ætate signatus sit." Doctrina Num. Vet. Pars I. Vol. II. p. 97.

edict was issued by Alexander, granting only to Apelles the privilege of painting him, to Lysippus that of representing him in bronze statues, and to Pyrgoteles that of engraving his image upon gems. One of those portraits, by Apelles, existed in the time of Augustus; and was placed, by his order, in the most conspicuous part of the forum at Rome[m]. Apuleius[n] attributes to this circumstance the high degree of perfection by which all the representations of him are characterized: for the artists, fearful of exciting the displeasure of Alexander, laboured, with the most scrupulous exactness, to preserve the resemblance which had once been sanctioned by his approbation; giving to all their portraits "the same martial vigour, the same loftiness of soul, the same freshness of youth, the same gracefulness of countenance."

In every inquiry of this nature, it is the intention of the author to conclude his observations where his Testimonies end; obtruding no opinion of his own, unless supported

[m] Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxv. c. 10.

[n] The passage is too interesting to be omitted. That author only differs from Pliny in naming *Polycletes* instead of *Lysippus*. "Sed in primis Alexandri illud præclarum, quòd *imaginem suam*, QUO CERTIOR POSTERIS PRODERETUR, noluit à multis artificibus vulgò contaminari: sed edixit universo orbi suo, ne quis effigiem regis temerè *assimularet*, ære, colore, cælamine: quin ipse solus eam *Polycletus* ære duceret, solus *Apelles* coloribus delinaret, solus *Pyrgoteles* cælamine excuderet. Præter hos treis multo nobilissimos in suis artificiis, si quis uspiam reperiretur alius sanctissimi imagini regis manus admolitus, haud secus in eum quàm in sacrilegum vindicaturus. Eo igitur omnium metu factum, solus Alexander ut ubique imaginum summus esset: utique omnibus statuis et tabellis et toreumatis IDEM VIGOR ACERRIMI BELLATORIS, IDEM INGENIUM MAXIMI HONORIS, EADEM FORMA VIRIDIS JUVENTÆ, EADEM GRATIA RELICINÆ FRONTIS CERNERETUR." Apuleii Floridorum, lib. i. p. 8. edit. ap. S. à Porta, Lugd. 1587.

by historical evidence. With respect to the Tomb of Alexander, the circumstances are collected which appear to establish the pretensions of an antient monument to the title it has obtained; and this duty fulfilled, it remains with the Public to pronounce that judgement which they alone have a right to give. "The guardians of the most holy relics," says an historian[o], speaking of another singular fragment of antiquity, "would rejoice if they were able to produce such a chain of evidence as may be alledged upon this occasion." Yet even that evidence may be disputed, if tradition, supported by history, be inadequate to the end proposed.

[o] Gibbon. Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. II. Chap. 17. Note ([48]).

Jesus College, Cambridge,
*June* 20, 1804.

ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ 'Ο ΘΕΟΣ

From a silver Tetradrachm of

LYSIMACHUS

In the possession of the Author

*TESTIMONIES RESPECTING THE TOMB OF ALEXANDER.*

THE Gentlemen of the British Museum, during the last year, have been amused or perplexed by various discussions respecting the Alexandrian Sarcophagus. They have witnessed the curiosity which its present appellation has excited. They will also recollect, that, for some time after its arrival with the other Egyptian antiquities, no information was given respecting its history further than what related to its capture at Alexandria. No inquiry had been made respecting the origin of any of those monuments; nor had the subject received illustration by a knowledge of the motives which induced the French army to take possession of them, and to use such efforts in retaining them, as, in moments of privation and defeat, and during the pressure of an actual famine, protracted the capitulation, by which their

sufferings were to end. The Rosetta Stone may afford a single exception to this observation. The secret of its being in their hands having already escaped[a], its importance, in a literary view, was disclosed by a sight of the stone itself. But with regard to the others, when all their exertions to place them beyond the reach, or to conceal them from the view, of the English army had failed of effect, they avoided making known the knowledge they had obtained of them[b]. This of course contributed to the obscurity in which their history is involved. They were placed in the open court of the British Museum, and considered as curious but unimportant monuments of Egyptian art, glorious to the nation as trophies of its valour, but whose dark and mystic legends, impervious to modern inquiry, excited despair rather than hope of explanation.

If these were the circumstances under which they at first arrived in England, the case was somewhat different in the country whence they came. The inhabitants of Egypt, afflicted and insulted by every violation of justice and humanity, were not likely to remain the patient depositaries of their enemies' secrets, when their power of oppression was no more. The anxiety betrayed to

[a] An account of it appeared in the *Courier de l'Egypte*, printed at Caïro, soon after the stone was discovered.

[b] A remarkable instance of this appears in the account Denon has published, who doubtless had his reasons for the reserve he has shown respecting the antiquities which fell into our hands.

prevent those antiquities from falling into our hands had not escaped their notice. They were moreover in many instances acquainted with their nature, and the interest they were likely to excite. They called to mind the painful labours they had either endured or witnessed, when compelled to work as slaves at their removal. The traditionary or historical evidence concerning them was either familiar to them as natives, or had been ostentatiously displayed to them by their tyrannical task-masters. At an early period after the invasion of Egypt by the French, Denon and Dolomieux, as related by the former [c], were employed in the examination of the antiquities of Alexandria. Among other objects of curiosity, a small temple, containing, according to the account given by the Arabs at this hour, THE TOMB OF ISCANDER [d], THE FOUNDER OF THE CITY, was shewn to them in the mosque of St. Athanasius. The gratification afforded in viewing it was heightened by the recollection that hitherto Mahometans alone had been permitted to enter the sacred inclosure. Leo Africanus [e] had given a history of this Tomb

[c] Voyage en Egypte, Tom. I. p. 32.

[d] The mode of writing this name is frequently varied. Some of the Oriental Dictionaries make its orthography *Secander;* others *Scander*. Richardson (Dictionary, Vol. II. p. 1032) makes it *Iscander*, which is also the manner in which Sale writes it in his Translation of the Koran. See Vol. II. p. 121. Note ([t]). They are all attempts to imitate the Arabic pronunciation of the same word, *Alexander*. The Arabs considering *Al* as an article, omit it; on which account the name becomes *Exander*, and, in their pronunciation, *Escander*. D'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 317) writes it *Escander*, and *Iskender*.

[e] Alexandriæ Descript. Tom. II. lib. viii. p. 677. edit. Elzevir. 1632.

subsequent to the conquest of Alexandria by the Saracens; and our countryman Sandys[f] had noticed the tradition concerning it above a century before the arrival of the French. We cannot therefore suppose the chosen sages of the Republic were unacquainted with those authors; and it were injustice to presume the tradition had escaped their inquiry. The astonishment excited by a view of this wonderful Sarcophagus, and the feelings called forth by its contemplation, are strongly marked by the account Denon has given of their visit to the Tomb. But it is curious to observe with what caution he has touched upon the subject. His words, like the hieroglyphics which so much engaged his attention, contain a meaning beyond their common acceptation; reserved, doubtless, for the initiated. The Tomb is no longer a theme of triumph to his countrymen. Enough has been said to convince them of its importance; and the rest may be reserved till the moment arrives, when, according to their *moderate* expectations, the invasion and conquest of this country shall have restored the precious relic to their hands.

Let us open his colossal volumes, and extract the account given by him of the Sarcophagus[g].

"Near these baths is one of the principal mosques, formerly a primitive church, under the name of St. Athanasius.

[f] Sandys' Travels, p. 112. edit. Lond. 1632.

[g] See Tom. I. p. 32.

This edifice, ruinous as magnificent, may afford an idea of the negligence of the Turks respecting objects of which they are the most jealous. Before our arrival they suffered no Christian to approach, and chose to keep a guard there rather than to repair the gates. In the state in which we found them, they could neither close nor move upon their hinges.

"In the middle of the court of that mosque, a small octagon temple[h] incloses a cistern of Egyptian breccia of incomparable beauty, both on account of its nature, and of the innumerable hieroglyphic figures with which it is covered within and without. This monument, which is, without doubt, *a sarcophagus of antient Egypt, will be, perhaps, illustrated by volumes of dissertations.* It would have required a month to have designed them in detail. I had only time to take the general form, of which the draught may be seen (Plate 9. No. 3.); and I ought to add, that it may be considered as one of *the most precious morsels of antiquity,* and one of the *chief spoils of Egypt,* with which it might be wished we could enrich one

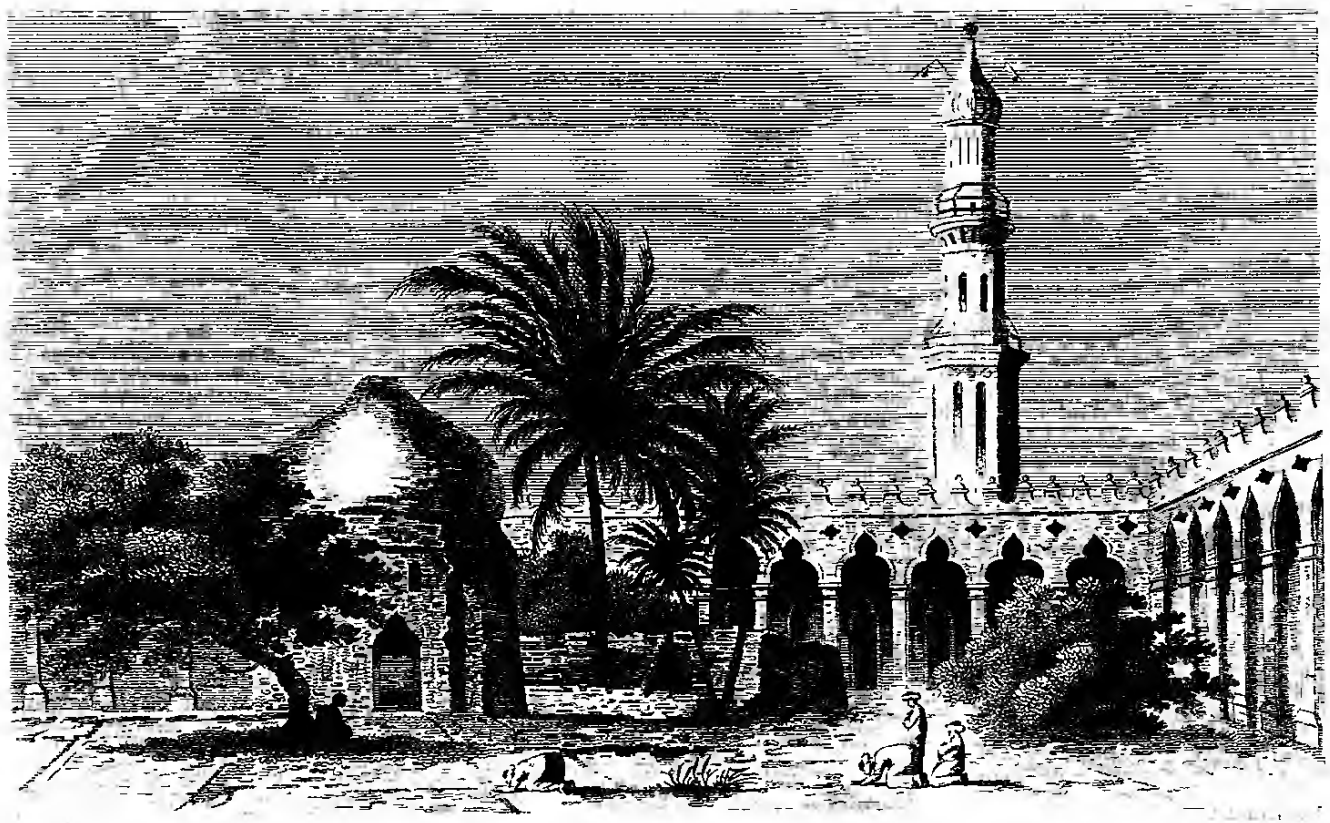
[h] So in Leo Africanus, Tom. II. lib. viii. p. 677. edit. Elzevir. 1632. "Neque prætermittendum videtur, in medio Alexandriæ ruderum, ARCICVLAM INSTAR SACELLI CONSTRVCTAM adhuc superesse, INSIGNI SEPULCHRO," &c. And afterwards in Sandys, "A LITTLE CHAPPELL; within, a TOMBE."—It is impossible for identity to be more strikingly exemplified by the coincidence of writers, of different countries, visiting the same object, at different periods. And this tomb Leo and Sandys both mention as the reputed TOMB OF ALEXANDER. Could Denon be ignorant of this? It matters not if he were,—the inhabitants gave the same account of it to him.

of our museums. MY ENTHUSIASM WAS PARTICIPATED BY DOLOMIEUX, WHEN WE TOGETHER DISCOVERED THIS PRECIOUS MONUMENT[j]."

What were the consequences of this discovery? The sanctity of the temple was violated. In spite of their vaunted toleration, and affected regard for the religious opinions of a people whose sanctuaries they had pledged themselves to protect, the mosque of St. Athanasius was invaded by French troops; and the Sarcophagus, which they found the inhabitants of Alexandria venerating as THE TOMB OF THE FOUNDER OF THEIR CITY[k], was borne away amidst the howling and lamentation of its worshippers, exciting even insurrection among the people, and condemned to augment the collection of plunder in the museums of Paris. After its removal, the most cautious measures were used to conceal it from observation. With prodigious difficulty and labour, they had placed it in the hold of a crazy vessel in the harbour, which, being converted into an hospital, might on that account escape examination, and in other respects was not likely to become an object of attention.

[j] In this passage I have endeavoured to translate the French as literally as it is possible to render it into English; preferring the introduction of *Gallicisms*, rather than deviations from the original text for the sake of elegance.

[k] The adoration paid to it, though cautiously unnoticed by Denon in his written description, is nevertheless represented in his Plate. (See the second Plate of this Work.) Five devotees are there introduced in the very act of worshipping the Tomb. Was it the author's inadvertency, or regard for his drawing, that caused this difference between the description and the engraving?



View of the Interior of the Place of the Soma, in Alexandria, now called the Mosque of St. Athanasius, with the Sanctuary enclosing the Tomb of Alexander, & the manner of worshiping it as practised before the arrival of the French in Egypt

Other vicissitudes awaited this remarkable monument. A British army came to give life and liberty to the oppressed inhabitants of Egypt; and the Tomb of the greatest Conqueror the world ever knew devolved, by right of conquest, to their victorious arms. Had it been conveyed to the metropolis of France, instead of the silence which is now so cautiously observed respecting it, Europe would have been told, that an hieroglyphic inscription having recorded the actions of a Ptolemy[1], the Alexandrian Sarcophagus, in the same language, might also relate the expeditions, the conquests, and the glories of Alexander. A prodigious temple would have been erected in the midst of Paris; where, to complete the mockery of Buonaparte's imitation of the son of Philip, the same Tomb that had once inclosed the body of that hero would have been reserved for the bones of his mimic.

It remains now for me to introduce a narrative of the means by which I had the good fortune to discover it in their hands, and of making it known to the Commander in Chief; who was pleased to honour me with a particular commission respecting it during the capitulation of Alexandria: and, afterwards, to shew, that the uniform tradition of the inhabitants of the country, supported by historical evidence, clearly proves this interesting monument to be the Tomb of Alexander the Great.

[1] Inscription on the Rosetta Stone, in honour of Ptolemy Epiphanes, written in the hieroglyphic character subsequent to the time of Alexander the Great.

Lord Hutchinson had kindly furnished me with letters of recommendation to different persons in Cairo, soon after his return from the capture of that place. Lord Keith had also rendered me the same service. By their means I became acquainted, among others, with Signor Rosetti, the Imperial consul, a gentleman long known to persons visiting Egypt, for his literary as well as political talents. Mr. Hammer, a celebrated Oriental scholar, lodged also in his house; so that in the society of those intelligent and obliging companions I had the most favourable opportunities of obtaining information[m]. In the course of my inquiries respecting the Rosetta Stone, which I was very anxious to have included among the articles to be surrendered, and of which, at that time, we had obtained but a faint and imperfect history, it was made known to me, that another stone, of much larger dimensions, was in the possession of the French, guarded with the greatest secresy, and concerning which they

[m] The satisfaction of obtaining a complete manuscript copy of the whole of "the Arabian Nights," containing 172 Tales, divided into "one thousand and one Nights," and of ascertaining the truth of the account given by Bruce of his travels to the sources of the Nile, may be numbered among the advantages derived from the assistance I met with in Cairo. An Abyssinian Dean, a negro, one of the persons employed in the propagation of Christianity in the countries described by Bruce, happened at that time to be in the city. A copy of Bruce's Travels was obtained from General Baird, then encamped with the Indian army in the Isle of Rauoda, near Djiza. After a long and careful examination of this Abyssinian, relative to the most important points in those Travels, he bore testimony to their general accuracy: as a further confirmation of which, General Baird spoke in the highest terms of his account of the Red Sea, and of the advantages the Indian army derived from his charts and observations.

entertained the most lively apprehensions; deeming it even of more importance than the stone found at Rosetta. The persons who gave me this information, and whose names it certainly would not be prudent to make known, while there is even a chance of their receiving another visit from the French, further added, that this stone, which they described to be of astonishing size, and a beautiful green colour, was somewhere concealed in Alexandria.

With this intelligence I set out from Caïro, for the British camp,—at that time stationed on the heights they had retained after the action of the twenty-first of March, 1801; and took the earliest opportunity of seeing the Commander in Chief. The distance was great, and the capitulation daily expected to take place. It is to the situation of Alexandria and Caïro, with respect to each other, that the want of precision must be attributed which appears in the account given of this monument in the latter city. One object alone delayed my passage. Mr. Hammer accompanied me in the voyage down the Nile. We entertained very sanguine hopes of being able to discover the ruins, and thereby determine the site of the city of Saïs; and were ultimately successful. Those ruins had escaped the researches of the French, during all their residence in Egypt[n]. A full description of them

[n] Denon takes no notice of them. I mentioned them afterwards to the Members of the Institute, in Alexandria; but they had neither visited the place,

now would be unseasonable: it will enter with more propriety into a future publication, if I have ever reason to believe that it will interest the public. It is therefore only necessary to add, that having been informed by some Arabs, inhabiting the Delta, of ruins precisely on the spot marked by D'Anville as the situation of Saïs, we stopped to examine them. The name of the place has experienced little alteration since the time of Herodotus. It is now called *Se'l Hajar*, or *Se al Hajar*, the *antient Saïs*; and is situated on the eastern shore of the Rosetta branch of the Nile, to the south of *Rahmanieh*; near the place where a canal, passing across the Delta, joins the waters of this branch of the river with that of Damiata. The same canal existed in antient times. Here we landed, and, about half a mile from the shore, found the Arab peasants employed in sifting soil, among the remains of buildings of great antiquity. The earth was covered with fragments of antient pottery[o]. Beyond this place appeared the foundation of a vast edifice, forming a quadrangular inclosure, in

nor heard of the ruins. Mr. Bryant, whose discernment and diligence suffered no information to escape him that might contribute to the establishment of truth, cites the Travels of two Dutchmen, Egmont and Heyman, (See Bryant on the Situation of *Zoan*, Observat. p. 312) in ascertaining the position of *Saïs*. It was therefore with surprize and satisfaction, after my return home, and after these Testimonies were written, I found the same place described by those travellers as the site of the ruins of Saïs; and their opinion confirmed by the learning and authority of Mr. Bryant. In yielding to them the honour of the original discovery, more complete evidence is obtained concerning the real history of those ruins.

[o] An infallible criterion of the site of antient cities, in all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, the Archipelago, and the Black Sea.

the area of which was a high mound of earth supporting the ruins of some building; the whole corresponding very accurately with the account given of Saïs by Herodotus[p]. According to the common Eastern custom, a village and a mosque had been constructed in the midst of the ruins[q]; and the beautiful remains of the temple of Minerva, statues of the stone called green basaltes[r], of highly-wrought Egyptian sculpture, broken and defaced, had been stuck in the walls, pavement, and steps of the mosque. Some of these, together with curious small idols, covered likewise with hieroglyphics, I fortunately succeeded in bringing away; and they are now in the vestibule of the Public Library of the University. The peasants, who are constantly sifting among the ruins, whether with a view to make a sale of what they find, or to procure soil for their grounds, I am not aware, have doubtless since discovered many valuable antiquities. It would therefore be a proper object of inquiry for any future traveller; and if nothing of that kind be obtained to reward his labours, his curiosity will meet with ample gratification in a view of the place.

[p] Herodot. lib. ii. c. 170—175.

[q] The village of *Se'l Hajar* is nearer the river than the inclosure I have mentioned.

[r] This beautiful stone is a variety of the *saxum trapezium* of Linnæus. How it obtained the appellation of green basaltes is not so easily determined. It is the *roche cornéenne* of the Abbé Hauy (Traité de Min. Tom. IV. p. 434). Winkelmann calls it *basalte verdâtre*, and says "*Les artistes Egyptiens et Grecs se sont efforcés à l'envi de travailler cette pierre.*" (Œuvres de Winkel. Tom. I. p. 168.) It has long been considered as one of the hardest materials of antient sculpture.

The Nile had now attained such an elevation, that a passage was open by water from Caïro to the pyramids[s]. Rushing into all the new, and many of the old canals, it occupied the area of the antient temple of Minerva; forming, within its inclosure, a kind of lake round the circular mound, in the middle of the area[t]. In such a manner the lake was formed on which the antient Egyptians celebrated at Saïs their nocturnal mysteries[u]. Amidst the ruins of this temple, and in the neighbourhood, the present inhabitants find the antiquities I have noticed. When it is considered the Greeks and Romans, in all the ages that have succeeded the remote period in which this city flourished, were continually draining Egypt of every beautiful work of antient art; that the villa of Hadrian alone, from the account of its Egyptian ornaments[x], seems to have been capable of containing whatever

[s] It reached even to the base of the high mound or platform on which they were constructed. Several officers, both of the Indian and English armies, together with Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Hammer, accompanied us in a boat during our visit to the pyramids.

[t] Herodotus relates, that when the Egyptians at Saïs strangled Apries, they buried him in the tomb of his ancestors; which, says the historian, "*stands in the temple of Minerva*, near the *cœnaculum*, on the left hand as you enter. Herodot. Euterpe, lib. ii. c. 169.

[u] The solemnities of Minerva at Saïs were reckoned to hold the third rank in importance among all the festivals of Egypt. Ibid. c. 59. They were probably celebrated at the time the Nile had attained its height, as some remains of a similar festival may be observed at Caïro, in a lake of the same nature, at that time.

[x] The villa of Hadrian, at Tivoli near Rome, was adorned with all the Grecian and Egyptian sculpture brought by that emperor to Italy. When I saw it in the

Saïs had possessed; and that the collections in modern Rome, and all over the polished world, are filled with monuments of Egyptian sculpture; it is indeed extraordinary that they should still be found in such abundance. The consideration of this circumstance affords ideas of the magnificence of that once celebrated country; and the reader, who can scarce credit the historian when he mentions her twenty thousand cities[y], finds, in the contemplation, a pleasing confirmation of his truth. Amasis had constructed at Saïs, in honour of Minerva, a propylæum which in magnitude and grandeur surpassed every thing before seen, of such prodigious size were the stones employed in the building and its foundation. Herodotus, enumerating the decorations given by Amasis to this edifice, mentions very remarkable statues, under the appellation of *androsphinges*[z]. His commentators, and among others

year 1794, it appeared more like the ruin of a city than of a villa. The remains of it cover an extent of ten Italian miles (Winkelmann, Tom. II. p. 456). It contained two theatres, besides numerous temples, baths, mosaics, &c. In this vast depository of taste Hadrian concentrated all he had collected in his travels over the empire, and the numerous contributions from Greece, Egypt, and different parts of Asia. He erected temples to the deities of all nations, and celebrated the rites of all known religions. The priests of each were dressed in the manner peculiar to their country, and all the attendants wore their appropriate habits. Thus decorated, it presented an epitome of all his travels. Caracalla afterwards stripped it to adorn his baths at Rome, and it is supposed that many of the finest statues with which we are acquainted belonged originally to this collection.

[y] Herodot. lib. ii. c. 177.

[z] Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐν Σαΐ τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαια θωϋμάσια οἱ ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῷ τε ὕψεϊ καὶ τῷ μεγάθεϊ, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος, λίθων ἐστι, καὶ ὁκοίων τέων· τῦτο δὲ, κολοσσοὺς μεγάλυς καὶ ΑΝΔΡΟΣΦΙΝΓΑΣ περιμήκεας ἀνέθηκε. "Præterea,

Larcher[a], have endeavoured to describe this monstrous figure; which, as the Egyptians commonly represented the sphinx with the body of a lion and the face of a young woman[b], he asserts to have been the body of a lion with the face of a man. From what we have seen of Egyptian sculpture, I think there is every reason to believe it was the body of a man with the head of a lion[c]. I found the base and feet of such a statue at Saïs, which is now in the University, and is one of the few remains of Egyptian sculpture whose local origin is not uncertain; exciting the liveliest interest, by its intimate connexion with the history

in Saï vestibulum Minervæ fecit, opus admirandum, et longè superans cætera tum sublimitate tum magnitudine; tanta est vastitas lapidum atque substructionum. Quinetiam ingentes colossos, et immanes ANDROSPHINGAS, ibidem posuit." Herodot. lib. ii. c. 175. edit. Galei.

[a] "*Andro-sphinx*. Figure monstrueuse qui (Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. v. &c.) avoit le corps d'un lion et le visage d'un homme. Cependant les artistes (Ælian. Nat. Animal. Tom. II. lib. xii. cap. 7. p. 671) Egyptiens représentoient communément le sphinx avec le corps d'un lion et le visage d'une jeune fille. On plaçoit (Plutarch. de Isid. et Osirid. p. 354. C. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. v. &c.) ordinairement un sphinx à l'entrée des temples, pour servir de type de la nature énigmatique de la théologie Egyptienne." Larcher, Tom. II. p. 543. N. 581.

[b] In which case the lion appears in a cumbent posture. The Theban sphinx was of this kind, and was distinguished from the Egyptian by having wings. It is represented in the sepulchre of the Naso's, delivering an oracle to Œdipus. Montfaucon, Tom. II. Part II. p. 316.

[c] The Bedouin Arabs at Saccara in Upper Egypt brought me a small figure of curious sculpture, which they had found among the catacombs of that place; and which represents the body of a young woman with the head of a lion, surmounted by a globe. All these varieties of the conjunction of the lion and the virgin are evidently symbols alluding to the position of the Sun in the signs of Leo and Virgo, when the Nile overflows; and of this opinion is Maillet. See Norden's Travels.

of Egypt, as well as by the view it offers of the arts and mythology of that country.

The passage on the Nile, either ascending or descending, is at this season of the year exceedingly rapid[d], which rendered our loss of time at Saïs of less importance. We left Mr. Hammer at Rosetta, and immediately hastened to the British camp. I arrived there by day-break; yet, even at that early hour, the Commander in Chief had been some time on horseback, inspecting the lines. At his return, he received me with the greatest kindness; and, as the capitulation had begun, he sent me immediately into Alexandria, supplying me with horses, forage, a passport, and every thing that might expedite and facilitate my inquiry, and cause the monument, of which I had received information at Caïro, to be surrendered. I had also his permission to receive the Rosetta Stone, and to copy its inscriptions; fearful lest any accident might befal it, either while it remained in the possession of the enemy, or in its passage home. His Lordship had already obtained an impression from the stone, made upon paper by some Member of the Institute, which he kindly allowed me to use; but the characters so impressed were too

[d] By means of the periodical north-west winds, which set in during the rise and inundation of the Nile, a very short passage may be obtained from Rosetta to Caïro. Then, by taking down the sails, and suffering the boat to be carried with the rapidity of the current, which more resembles a torrent than the common course of a river, the boat may return back with equal velocity against the wind.

imperfectly marked to afford a faithful representation of the original[e].

Thus provided, I left the British camp, and prepared to enter Alexandria. As I drew near the city, a vast number of Arabs were waiting, on the outside of the walls, for permission from the English to supply the inhabitants. In the desolate scene of sand and ruins which intervenes between the outer gates and the interior fortifications, a party of miserable Turks were endeavouring to crawl towards their camp. They had been liberated that morning from their dungeons. The legs of these poor creatures, swoln to a size that was truly horrible, were covered with large ulcers; and their eyes were terrible from inflammation. Some, too weak to advance, had fallen on the sand; where they were exposed to the scorching beams of the sun. Immediately on seeing us, they uttered such moans as might have pierced the hearts of their cruel oppressors. They begged for water, and we had none to give them; for, eager in the pursuit of our object, we had neglected to supply ourselves with provisions. We succeeded, but not without difficulty, in prevailing upon

[e] This invaluable monument was afterwards delivered up in the streets of Alexandria, (Mr. Cripps, Mr. Hamilton, and myself, being present,) by a Member of the Institute, from the warehouse in which they had concealed it, covered with mats. The officer who surrendered it, expressed at the same time his apprehension, lest the indignation of the French troops should cause its destruction, if it remained there. We made this circumstance known to Lord Hutchinson, who gave orders for its immediate removal; and it was given in charge to Colonel Turner, under whose care it came safe to England.

some Arabs to take care of them until relief could be obtained[f]; and then passed, through the inner gates, into the great square of Alexandria.

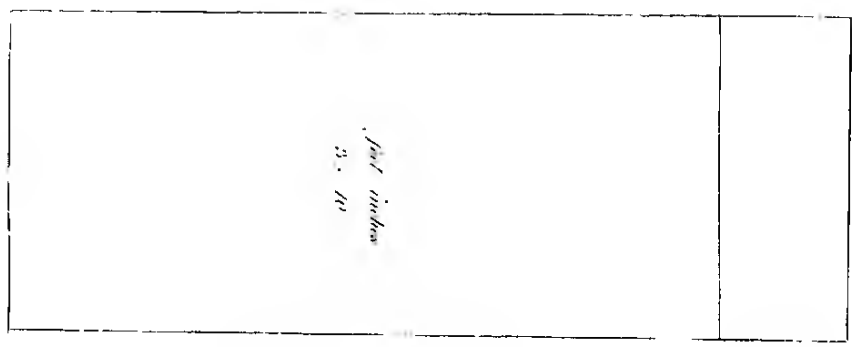
The families whom we saw in the place, and to some of whom we had brought letters, were in the greatest distress for want of provisions. In one instance, we found a father, surrounded by his children, weeping at the news that the English were not yet to enter the city. They had lived entirely upon bad rice, of a black colour, and very unfit for food; and of this they were only allowed a small portion during the day. The exactions and enormities committed by the French would exceed belief.

We had scarcely reached the house in which we were to reside, when a party of the merchants of the place, who had heard the nature of our errand, came to congratulate us on the capture of Alexandria, and to express their anxiety to serve the English. As soon as the room was cleared of other visitants, speaking with great circumspection and in a low voice, they asked if our business in Alexandria related to the antiquities collected by the French? Upon being answered in the affirmative, and, in proof of it, the copy of the Rosetta Stone being produced, the principal of them said, "Does your Commander in Chief know that they have the Tomb of Alexander?" We desired them to describe it; upon which they said

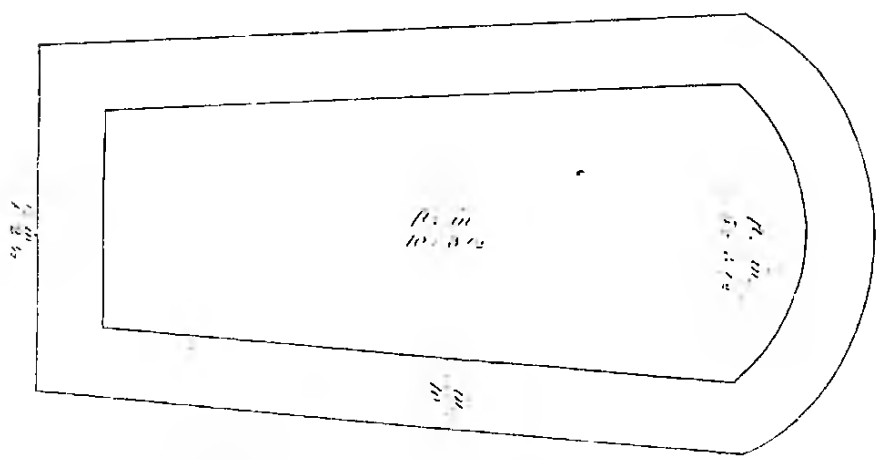
[f] We had afterwards the happiness of hearing that they reached the Turkish camp.

it was *a beautiful green stone,* taken from the mosque of St. Athanasius; which, among the inhabitants, had always borne that appellation. Our letter and instructions from Caïro evidently referred to the same monument. "It is the object," they continued, "of our present visit; and we will shew you where they have concealed it." They then related the measures used by the French; the extraordinary care they had observed to prevent any intelligence of it; the indignation shewn by the Mahometans at its removal; the veneration in which they held it; and the tradition familiar to all of them respecting its origin. I conversed afterwards with several of the Mahometans, both Arabs and Turks, on the same subject; not only those who were natives and inhabitants of the city, but also dervises and pilgrims; persons from Constantinople, Smyrna, and Aleppo, who had visited, or who had resided at Alexandria; and they all agreed in one uniform tradition, namely, ITS BEING THE TOMB OF ISCANDER (*Alexander*), THE FOUNDER OF THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA.

We were then told that it was in the hold of an hospital ship, in the inner harbour; and being provided with a boat, we there found it, half filled with filth, and covered with the rags of the sick people on board. Nothing could equal the admiration with which I viewed this beautiful Tomb, having never seen, among the fine works the antients have left us, an instance in which nature as well as art vie with each other to such perfection.



Elevation of the Tomb



Plan of the Tomb

True indeed are the words of Denon before cited; "*Qu'il peut être regardé comme un des morceaux les plus précieux de l'antiquité:*" and strictly does the appearance of it correspond with the description given by Diodorus of the shrine constructed for the body of Alexander.

This surprizing Sarcophagus is one entire block of green Egyptian *breccia*[g]. There is not perhaps in the world another of such magnitude[h]. We are not acquainted with the name which the antients gave to this beautiful

[g] The following extract from Winkelmann, *sur la brèche d'Egypte*, Tom. I. p. 184, is of importance, as it describes a substance little known, and proves the extreme rarity of this kind of stone; at the same time, the concluding part of it so strongly expresses the beauty of the Sarcophagus, that, if the author had seen it, he could not have been more accurately descriptive.

"La brèche, en Italien *breccia*, est fort remarquable, QUOIQU'IL NE NOUS RESTE DE CETTE PIERRE QUE LE SEUL TORSE D'UNE STATUE. La brèche est composé de différentes espèces de granit, et entre autres de parties de porphyre de deux couleurs: c'est ce qui me porte à croire que L'EGYPTE EST SON PAYS NATAL. Cette pierre est comprise en Italie sous le terme générique de *brèche*, *breccia*; terme dont ni la Crusca, ni le compilateur Florentin Baldinucci, ne nous disent point l'origine. Nous remarquerons que la brèche consiste en plusieurs fragmens brisés d'autres pierres; et voilà, selon l'observation judicieuse de Ménage, le principe de sa dénomination, que ce savant dérive du mot Allemand *brechen*, briser. Or, comme les pierres d'Egypte se destinguent spécialement dans la formation de cette brèche, j'ai cru qu'il falloit lui donner le nom de *brèche d'Egypte*. Le vert est la couleur dominante de cette pierre; couleur dans laquelle on remarque des degrés et des nuances infinies; de sorte que je suis persuadé que JAMAIS PEINTRE NI TEINTURIER N'EN A PRODUIT DE PAREILLES: le mélange de ces couleurs DOIT PAROÎTRE MERVEILLEUX (agreeing exactly with the words of Diodorus respecting the Tomb) aux yeux des observateurs attentifs des productions de la nature."

Such is the description which the most eminent *connoisseur* in the fine arts has given us of this stone. The more scientific detail of the mineralogist offers in a few words its analysis. It is composed of various fragments of jasper, hornstone, and schistus, agglutinated in a green aluminous rock. See Professor Hailstone's Letter to the Author, in the Appendix.

[h] See the dimensions in the third Plate.

production of the Egyptian quarries. When their historians mention, that, from one entire emerald, columns and statues were constructed of a size that contradicts all our knowledge of the mineral kingdom[j], the stone thus named has been sometimes supposed the green fluor. But none of the varieties of this substance are found in Egypt; and from the nature of their formation, as stalactites, they are not likely to appear any where in very large masses. From a frequent view of the materials used by antient artists, and particularly those of Egypt, the country to which reference has been made for these pretended emeralds, I am disposed to believe it was the green *breccia*. The antients used this substance only in their most sacred and sumptuous works; and the remains of it are extremely rare. In the whole city of Constantinople, adorned as it was by the munificence of its emperors, only two columns are found of this stone. They support a part of the seraglio, facing the sea, among several other columns of the beautiful green marble of Laconia[k], called by the Italians *verde antico*. I do not recollect it among the

[j] Such was the column in the temple of Hercules at Tyre (Herodot. lib. ii. c. 44); the emerald sent from Babylon to a king of Egypt; those in the obelisk of Jupiter (Theophrast. in libro de Lapide, p. 256); and the colossal statue of Serapis in the Labyrinth of Egypt (Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvii. c. 5); &c. &c.

[k] "*Green marble of Laconia.*"] I have, for the first time, ventured to assign to this sort of marble its native land; and was accidentally led to the discovery by reading a note in Gibbon's History subjoined to his description of the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople (See Vol. IV. p. 94). The Historian, who had not ocular evidence of the materials employed in the building, was not aware, that, in enumerating the different marbles employed to adorn this edifice, he clearly

ruins of Greece, nor in any collection of the antiquities of Rome, either in that city[l] or any other part of Europe. We have thus a proof that the stone used in this Sarcophagus was of a rarity and price equal to that of the most precious materials of ancient art[m]. The expence of working it could be undertaken only by sovereigns, who might procure, among the renowned artists of those times, talents and perseverance adequate to the achievement of such a surprizing work. In these days, the substance itself, and the process by which it was wrought, being unknown, a notion of supernatural agency is excited in unenlightened minds[n]; while the refined part of mankind express their astonish-

points out the long-lost quarries of the *verde antico*. He cites a Latin Poem of Paul Silentiarius; who, in a catalogue of the marbles, mentions, among others, the *green marble of Laconia*. As the only green marble which appears in St. Sophia is the *verde antico*, we may derive from this circumstance satisfactory indication of the country in which it was found.

[l] Professor Wad, of Copenhagen, has given a description of the Egyptian *breccia* in the *Fossilia Egyptiaca*, taken from Egyptian monuments, in the collection of Cardinal Borgia, at *Veletri*. He there states, that monuments of such materials were seen in the *Villa Albani*; adding to his description of the stone, "Ex hoc pulcherrimo saxo, vulgò, *breccia d'Egitto*, quod politum summi nitoris est, egregia spectantur monumenta in villâ Albani." It is uncertain whether the Professor describes the stone called *verde antico*, or that kind of green breccia to which I allude, and which is infinitely more rare.

[m] Instances have occurred in our own times of sovereigns who appropriated to their own use extraordinary products of the mineral kingdom. The late Empress of Russia collected that beautiful substance called the *Amazonian stone*, or *green Siberian feldspar;* which, since her death, has found its way into the other cabinets of Europe.

[n] The inhabitants both of Greece and Egypt attribute the prodigious works they behold to the agency of supernatural beings. More enlightened nations affect to ridicule the simplicity of their minds; yet it may be true that the combined talents of all the artists in Europe, stimulated by the patronage of all its sovereigns, could not equal the Tomb of Alexander.

ment. If, at any period in the history of the antient world, a work of this nature particularly corresponded with the genius of the age and the wishes of the people, it must have been at that important crisis, when THE BODY OF THE DEIFIED ALEXANDER WAS RECEIVED BY PTOLEMY, TO BE ENSHRINED AS THE SON OF AMMON, BY THE PRIESTS OF EGYPT. That the construction of the Tomb would demand every thing admirable in materials and in workmanship, cannot be disputed; but upon this subject we have sufficient proof from the testimony of antient historians. Diodorus, whose description of the funeral pomp seems to convey an adequate idea of the magnificence with which it was celebrated, represents it[o], "in magnitude and workmanship, worthy the greatness and glory of Alexander."

Death of Alexander, 323 B. C.

Plutarch, speaking of Alexander's illness, relates[p], that before his death, on the twenty-sixth day of the Macedonian month Dæsius, Python and Seleucus sent to the temple of Serapis, to demand of the God, if they should bring the king to the temple. The answer forbad his removal; and on the twenty-eighth day of the same month, towards evening, he expired[q]. For many days, owing to the

[o] Κατεσκεύασεν οὖν τέμενος κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης ἄξιον. "Quapropter delubrum, cum magnitudine, tum structurâ, majestate et gloriâ Alexandri dignum, illi fecit." Lib. xviii. c. 28.

[p] Plutarch. in Vit. Alexand. Vol. IV. p. 98. edit. Lond. 1723.

[q] Chronologists, though not perfectly agreed as to the precise period of his decease, generally suppose it to have happened on the evening of the 22d of May, 323 years before the birth of Christ. See Vincent's Nearchus, p. 487.

disputes among his generals, the body remained in Babylon, neglected and exposed. It was afterwards embalmed by Egyptians and Chaldæans; but its removal was delayed during two years, owing in some degree to the quarrels which arose among his successors, respecting the place of his interment; and still more to the immense preparations which were made for the solemnity. A superstitious notion prevailed, that whatsoever country possessed his body, it should flourish most. On this account Perdiccas would have sent it to the sepulchres of the Macedonian kings. For the same reason, as will appear in the sequel, Ptolemy arrested it in its passage to the Oasis, and conveyed it to Alexandria.

It will be necessary to examine with particular attention the account given of the deification of Alexander, and the means used to preserve his body; as the notion of a gold and glass coffin has involved the history of his interment in some error, by being confounded with the Sarcophagus, which Ptolemy, according to the custom both of Greeks and Egyptians, prepared for its reception. The forms of Greek and Egyptian sepulchres, when constructed for eminent persons, were distinguished by little variety. Wherever traces of their mode of sepulture appear, whether in the pyramids of Egypt, among the chambers excavated in the rocks of Syria and Asia Minor, in Cyprus, the Isles and Continent of Greece, or in the remote territory of those colonies whose

*tumuli* dignify the desolate plains of Tartary, the sarcophagus invariably appears. An immense tomb, hewn out of a single stone, covered by a slab of almost equal dimensions, inclosed the body[r]; and was afterwards placed either in a pyramid, or beneath those prodigious mounds which precede even the pyramids in antiquity[s]; or in caves and subterranean repositories, which have since borne the name of catacombs. The body so inclosed was sometimes swathed in bandages of linen, covered by a case of wood or metal, sculptured, or moulded, according to its features and form.

[r] In such tombs no attention was paid either to the shape or size of the body. They contained, with the deceased, his armour and weapons; also vessels of metal or earthenware. The armour of Alexander was thus kept, with his body, in the Sarcophagus; as appears by that passage of Dio Cassius (lib. lix. c. 17.), in which it is related, that Caligula wore the breast-plate of Alexander, which he had taken from his Tomb. The most remarkable sarcophagi of this kind are now to be seen among the ruins of the antient city of Telmessus, in the Gulph of Glaucus, in Asia Minor; some of which, situated upon the summits of high rocks, are still perfectly entire.

[s] There is scarcely a part of the habitable globe in which these sepulchral heaps are not found. I have seen them in all Europe, in Asia, from the Icy Sea to Mount Caucasus, over all the south of Russia, Kuban Tartary, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and part of Africa. A superstitious custom in the northern nations, of casting a stone on them, prevents any appearance of their diminution; and this practice, according to Shaw, prevails in Barbary, in the Holy Land, and in Arabia. (See Shaw's Travels, Pref. p. 10.) But that author is mistaken, in supposing those heaps erected only over the bodies of murdered persons. Nations the most remote are in this respect actuated by the same feelings. The Highlanders in Scotland, and the inhabitants of the Hebrides, bring stones from very distant places to cast on their *cairns*; and it is a saying, expressive of kindness, among them, "I will cast a stone upon thy *cairn*." Shaw was led to his opinion by passages in the Scriptures, which mention heaps of stone raised over Achan the son of Zerah (Josh. vii. 26.), over the king of Ai (Josh. viii. 26.), and over Absalom (2 Sam. xviii. 17.) who were all put to death. It is impossible to discuss this subject fully

This mode of interment belonged to persons of the highest rank[t]. It has been falsely supposed that mummies are common in Egypt: they are, on the contrary, extremely rare; and seem only to have contained the relics of those persons who, being kings or priests while they lived, became deities or saints after their death. The sacred character, and the symbols, prove the veneration in which they were held.

Contrary to the usual practice of the antients in deifying their heroes, they admitted the apotheosis of Alexander during his life. His successors, in this respect, imitated his example from motives of policy as well as ostentation. We find the young prince Ptolemy Epiphanes acknowledged as a God by the priests and inhabitants of Egypt[u]. The answer of the oracle, at the temple of Jupiter Ammon[x], laid the foundation of this encroachment upon the monstrous form of the Pagan theology: and what is extraordinary,

in a note. A dissertation on it is one of the *desiderata* wanting to illustrate antient history. They appear to present the most antient mode of burial, and to be anterior to the pyramids, as having a less artificial form: and perhaps some proof of this may be derived from the appearance of one of the pyramids of *Saccara* in Upper Egypt, the stones of which, being farther advanced in decomposition than those of *Djiza*, prove that they were erected at an earlier period; as they are exposed to the same atmosphere, and at no great distance from the latter. This pyramid preserves almost the simplicity of the primæval conic mound, and shows only an approach to the more artificial structure of others.

[t] "So Joseph died . . . . .; and they *embalmed* him, and he was put *in a coffin*, in Egypt." Gen. chap. l. ver. 26.

[u] See the Inscription on the Rosetta Stone.

[x] Plutarch. in Vit. Alex. Vol. IV. p. 40. edit. Lond. 1723.

in a distant age, when no inducement of fear or adulation could operate, a sovereign of the world, Augustus, came to do homage at the sepulchre[y]. After his return from the Oasis, Alexander, in his edicts, took the title of the Son of Amnon; and, notwithstanding the noble remonstrance of Callisthenes, caused his subjects to worship him as a God[z]. We are thus in possession of facts of great importance to our present inquiry. Alexander was deified; and worshipped, not as one of the Gods of Greece, but of Egypt; and after his death, as we shall soon prove, his consecrated relics reposed, with the holy Apis and the most sacred divinities of that country, in a sanctuary under the guardianship of Egyptian Priests. It is necessary to lay particular stress on this circumstance; because it has been asked, Why the Tomb of Alexander is covered with hieroglyphics, instead of having a Greek inscription? Perhaps the reply to this question is already anticipated. With the latter, it could not pretend to be the Tomb of Alexander. For if the tomb of an Egyptian God should exhibit the letters of the Greek alphabet, instead of an inscription ΕΝ ΙΕΡΟΙΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ[a], it would thereby contradict all our knowledge of history and of antient Egypt. Lucian expressly alludes to the rank he held among Egyptian deities, in the dialogue between Diogenes

[y] Sueton. in Augusto, c. 18.

[z] Arrian, lib. iv. c. 4.

[a] See the Inscription on the Rosetta Stone.

and Alexander[b]. In that dialogue Alexander relates, that Ptolemy had promised to convey his body into Egypt, where he should be buried, and become ONE OF THE GODS OF THE COUNTRY. To which Diogenes replies, "Am I to refrain from laughter at a folly which thou hast not abandoned even in hell; and at thy pretensions to play the part of ANUBIS AND OF OSIRIS?" We have here sufficient proof of the indispensable necessity of the hieroglyphic characters; and with these facts in contemplation, we shall be convinced of the great absurdity of expecting a Greek inscription on the Tomb of Alexander. The characters of the Greek alphabet were not considered sacred by Egyptian priests. "They were adverse to the customs of Greece, and, indeed, to those of all other nations[c]." The difference between their religious opinions and those of the Greeks, and the estimation in which the latter were held by Egyptian priests, is strongly marked by another passage in the same author; where it is related, that the heads of sacrificed animals, covered with imprecations, were cast into the river, unless "*some Greeks could be found to purchase them*[d]." And the historian adds, that they implored their gods to avert all calamities from their country, and cause them to fall on those heads. Mahomet's

[b] Lucian. Vol. I. p. 290. edit. Amstelod. Blaeu.

[c] Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι· τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ἄλλοισι μηδαμὰ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. "Græcanicis institutis uti recusant, et, ut semel dicam, nullorum hominum aliorum institutis uti volunt." Herodot. lib. ii. c. 91.

[d] Ibid. lib. ii. c. 39.

disciples, in their bitterest fanaticism, have not expressed more disdainful intolerance for the followers of Christ. With such sentiments, and under the impression of such prejudices, it is impossible to believe a Greek inscription would have been placed on a consecrated shrine, inclosing the incorruptible body of an Egyptian God.

Having thus proved the nature of Alexander's deification, the next subject of consideration relates to the means used by Aridæus to preserve the body; not only from corruption, by the process of embalming, but also from external injury, by a covering of some metal least liable to alteration. For this purpose he selected gold; not only because that metal may be exposed without being corroded, but also because, from its precious nature, it was more worthy the sacred relic it inclosed. Diodorus Siculus has given us a particular account of this gold covering; and, as many ancient customs exist unaltered, though their origin may frequently escape observation, we find the mode of preserving the bodies of saints in Catholic countries exactly what it was among the Pagans above two thousand years ago. The head of St. Januarius, at Naples, presented till lately[c] the sort of covering used by Aridæus for the body of Alexander; and the crystal case of St. Boromæo, at Milan, the substitute used to supply its loss, when the gold was exchanged for glass. The covering of gold was

[c] It is said to have disappeared since the French were in possession of Naples.

a sort of *chase work*, exactly adapted to the features, and so well fitted to the skin, that the form of the body inclosed, and even the expression of the countenance, were accurately preserved. This is so clearly stated by the historian, and at the same time so consistent with the mode of preserving relics in all ages, that it is wonderful it should at last be misunderstood, and obtain the erroneous appellation of a gold *coffin*. The words in the original are[f], χρυσοῦν σφυρήλατον ἁρμόζον, which signify golden *chase work*, wrought with a hammer, and fitted to the skin; but in no instance that sort of covering implied by the word *coffin*. How much the antients excelled in this sort of *chase work*, may be proved by the exquisite bas-relief found by Mr. Hawkins in Epirus. The practice of wrapping the dead in sheets of gold is strictly Oriental. Among the sepulchres discovered on the banks of the Volga, the Tobol, the Irtish, and the Ob, carcases are found wrapped in thin plates of gold[g]. Sometimes they are placed between sheets of the purest gold, extending from the head to the feet: and such a quantity of this metal has been discovered in those Eastern tumuli, that the borderers upon the Siberian and the Tartarian deserts have for many years been induced to dig for the treasure they contain[h]. In one sepulchre

[f] Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τῷ σώματι κατεσκευάσθη ΧΡΥΣΟΥΝ ΣΦΥΡΗΛΑΤΟΝ ΑΡΜΟΖΟΝ. "Principio autem cadaveri loculus mallei ductura ita fabricatus erat." Diodorus Siculus, lib. xviii. c. 26.

[g] Archæologia, Vol. VII. p. 224. Tooke's Account of the Burial Places of the Antient Tartars.

[h] Ibid. Vol. II. p. 223.

of Siberia, opened by order of the Russian government, beneath a high mound of earth, no less than forty pounds weight of fine gold was found in four sheets, covering two bodies[i]. Some years ago there were persons in Siberia who subsisted entirely upon the spoils they had obtained by ransacking tombs. The custom was to associate in large companies, and to search for sepulchres, as they do now for sables[k]. Many tumuli are also found in the country near the Tanaïs, and in the territory towards the Mæotis[l]; and these have been exposed to similar depredations. In opening them, gold is found, either in thin plates fitted to the bodies, or in sheets wrapped over them, or in the form of vessels, bracelets, and external ornaments. This sort of covering gave rise to the erroneous notion of Alexander's gold coffin. Over the covering of *chase work* was added ΚΑΛΥΠΤΗΡ ΧΡΥΣΟΥΣ, a *golden veil* or *garment*. They then proceeded to add the splendid purple vest variegated with gold, and afterwards his armour; wishing to represent him as he lived, or, in the words of the historian, "make the whole accordant with his past actions[m]." The true

[i] Archæologia, Vol. II. p. 224.

[k] Ibid. Vol. VII. p. 230.

[l] Rennel's Geographical System of Herodotus, p. 107. The same author refers to Mr. Tooke's writings for many curious observations respecting the sepulchres of the antient Scythians, and mentions this practice of *wrapping the body in sheets of gold* (See p. 109). It is entirely to Major Rennel's kindness that I am indebted for the observations collected upon those tumuli; for which I beg him to accept my thanks.

[m] Ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς θήκης ἐπετίθετο ΚΑΛΥΠΤΗΡ ΧΡΥΣΟΥΣ, ἁρμόζων ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιλαμβάνων τὴν ὑπερτάτω περιφέρειαν. Ταύτης δ' ἐπάνω περιέκειτο φοινικὶς διαπρεπὴς χρυσο-

coffin was the sarcophagus prepared by Ptolemy for the reception of the body; and this remained to secure it after the gold case was removed, and a crystal covering was used to supply its place; being as requisite as the shrine which incloses the body of St. Boromæo, or that which formerly protected the head of St. Januarius in its *σφυρήλατος* of bronze.

Alexander's Funeral, 325 B C.

After two years spent at Babylon, in making preparations for Alexander's funeral, the body began to move towards Damascus, on its way to Egypt. By his will, he had ordered it to be taken to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, in the deserts of Libya. Perdiccas conducted the solemn procession. The chariot in which it was conveyed exceeded in magnificence all that the world had then seen. The sight of this gorgeous car, and the prodigious pageant by which it was accompanied, brought together immense multitudes from all the cities near which the procession moved. The account given by Diodorus[n] is so eloquent, and so interesting, that nothing but the length of the description prevents its insertion. The reader will of course peruse the whole of it, that it may enable him to estimate the policy of Ptolemy in detaining the body, and form just conceptions of the sumptuous undertaking carried on

*ποίκιλτος, παρ' ἣν ἔθεσαν τὰ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος ὅπλα, βουλόμενοι συνοικειοῦν τὴν ὅλην φαντασίαν ταῖς προκατειργασμέναις πράξεσι.* "Supra capulum, aureum erat tegmen exacte adaptatum, quod summum circumquaque ambitum complecteretur. Supra hoc circumjecta erat chlamys punicea perquam decora, et auro variegata, juxta quam arma defuncti posuerant, eo consilio, ut speciem illam totam rebus ab eo gestis accommodarent." Diodorus Siculus, lib. xviii. c. 26.

[n] Ibid. c. 28.

afterwards for its reception in Alexandria. As soon as Ptolemy received intelligence of its approach, he went in person to meet it, accompanied by an army, as far as Syria. Under pretence of rendering funeral honours to the body, he prevented its being carried agreeably to its original destination; and conveyed it to Memphis[o], where it remained until the sepulchre was finished in Alexandria, in which he intended to place it.

Shrine constructed by Ptolemy in Alexandria.

By the respect thus paid to the remains of their deceased monarch, Ptolemy allured to his service many of Alexander's veteran troops[p]. The shrine[q] was constructed with all possible magnificence; and historians state, that it stood within the city[r]. This fact is of some consequence, as it proves the Tomb to have been within the walls, and not in any of the cemeteries or sepulchres without; as the vast catacombs, lately discovered to the westward, might otherwise lead us to imagine[s]. It was the *palladium* of the city, consecrated by the most sacred ceremonies, and continued to be an object of reverence and adoration

[o] "Cæterùm corpus ejus à Ptolemæo, cui AEgyptus cesserat, Memphim; et inde, paucis post annis, Alexandriam translatum est." Quintus Curtius, paginâ ultimâ.

[p] Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. c. 28.

[q] The word in the original is τέμενος; which, in the edition by Wesseling, is translated *delubrum*. It may properly be written *shrine*; as τέμενος means a *sanctuary* or *sacred inclosure*, any thing that incloses what is deemed sacred.

[r] Strabo, lib. xvii. Casaubon. Animad. in Sueton. p. 58. &c. &c.

[s] An account of extraordinary subterranean excavations, westward of Alexandria, may be expected from the French, in whose hands I saw very accurate and beautiful drawings of them. They were regarded, by some, as the sepulchres of the Ptolemies.

to the latest periods. In the truth of these circumstances all historians agree. Pausanias mentions the removal of the body from Memphis[t]; and Quintus Curtius, in the passage before cited, after confirming the truth of its being ultimately carried to Alexandria, further says[u], "*Omnisque memoriæ ac nomini honos habetur.*" Diodorus and Strabo both expressly state[x], that Ptolemy brought the body of Alexander to Alexandria; and "there," says Strabo[y], "it still lies; though not in its original coffin; a case of glass having been substituted for the gold covering, which a later Ptolemy had removed." Other writers mention the tomb and body of Alexander[z]. The body, whether protected by its golden or glass covering, according to the custom of all ancient nations, and particularly of the Egyptians and Greeks, reposed in a huge sarcophagus of stone, the materials and the workmanship of which have been so pointedly described by the historian as worthy the glory of Alexander[a]. Suetonius confirms the truth of this, by the distinction he makes between the sarcophagus and the body, in relating the visit of Augustus to the tomb. The words he uses are[b], "*conditorium et corpus;*" and they are so remarkable, that his learned

[t] Pausanias, lib. i. c. 6. [u] Quintus Curtius, pag. ult.

[x] Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. Strabo, lib. xvii. [y] Ibid.

[z] Lucan. et Suetonius in Augusto, c. 18.

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. c. 28.

[b] "Per idem tempus, *conditorium et corpus* Magni Alexandri," &c. Sueton. in Augusto, c. 18.

commentator, *Casaubon*, having no idea of any other repository than what the gold or the glass coffin afforded, breaks out in these interrogations: "*Quid appellat conditorium? an quam Strabo, lib. ultimo,* πύελον?" and then adds, "*Ea erat arca olim ex auro, postea è vitro, in quâ servatum Alexandri M. corpus.*" The rest of this commentary is of equal importance; but being too long for insertion in the text, the whole of it is subjoined in a note[c]. It concludes by stating, that if the words of *Leo Africanus*, a writer not to be despised, are true, *the Tomb of Alexander is still to be seen in Alexandria.*

Visited by Augustus, 30 B. C.

Augustus visited the Tomb nearly three centuries after Alexander's death. Dio Cassius mentions a remarkable circumstance which happened upon that occasion. The Roman Emperor, in viewing the body, touched the holy relic, and, in so doing, broke off a part of the nose of the

[c] "Quid appellat *conditorium?* an quam Strabo, lib. ultimo, πύελον? Ea erat arca olim ex auro, postea è vitro, in qua servatum Alexandri M. corpus. Sic ait Plinius, lib. xxxv. *defunctos multos fictilibus doliis condi voluisse.* Inde conditorium, θήκη, λάρναξ. An potius quem Strabo περίβολον vocat, intelligit? Locus FUIT URBE MEDIA, sepulturæ regum destinatus, quem vocari ait Strabo Σῆμα. Sic enim legimus, non Σῶμα: ut habent etiam manu exarati. Didymus in proverbio εὔνους ὁ σφάκτης. Ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει μνῆμα οἱ οἰκοδομήσας ὃ νῦν Σῆμα καλεῖται, πάντας ἐκεῖ τοὺς προπάτορας σὺν αὐτῇ κατέθετο, καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα. Atque hoc molins. Petronius, *Jacuerunt ergo unà præclusis conditorii foribus.* Seneca, *conditivum* pro eo dicit, epistola lxii. et lxxxiv. Plinius uterque *conditorium.* Ammianus Marcellinus, libro xviii. *conditorium muralium tormentorum* pro ὁπλοθήκη. Cæterum fuisse in media urbe Alexandria CONDITORIUM ALEXANDRI, etiam EX HODIERNA SPECIE illius semirutæ urbis potest constare: si vera sunt quæ leguntur apud Leonem Africanum, non contemnendum scriptorem." Then follow the words of Leo respecting the Tomb, which the Reader will find elsewhere inserted in this work.

embalmed monarch. "He saw," says the historian [d], "the body of Alexander, and touched it; so that a part of the nose, as they relate, was broken off." Lucan had before described the interest it excited in Cæsar's mind [e]. Suetonius moreover relates the veneration with which the sepulchre was viewed by Augustus; who, when the body was taken from the sarcophagus, placed a golden crown upon it, and scattered flowers over it [f]. Having thus gratified his curiosity, and indulged his piety, the priests asked him, if he would not also see the bodies of the Ptolemies, and the shrine of Apis: Augustus replied, that "his wish was to see a king, and not merely the dead; and with respect to Apis, he had been accustomed to worship GODS, and not oxen [g]."

Visited by Severus, A. D. 202.

About two hundred and thirty years had elapsed from the visit of Augustus, when Septimius Severus came to Alexandria. In this interval, Caligula, although he had not

[d] Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σῶμα εἶδε, καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ προσήψατο, ὥστε τὶ τῆς ῥινὸς, ὥς φασι, θραυσθῆναι. "Deinde corpus Alexandri inspexit, idque attrectavit, ita ut nasi quoque, ut fertur, particula aliqua frangeretur." Dio Cassius, lib. li. c. 16.

[e] Lucan. Pharsal. lib. x.

[f] "Per idem tempus, conditorium et corpus Magni Alexandri, cùm prolatum è penetrali subjecisset oculis, coronâ aureâ impositâ ac floribus aspersis veneratus est." Sueton. in August. c. 18.

[g] Τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Πτολεμαίων, καί τοι τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων σπουδῇ βουληθέντων αὐτῷ δεῖξαι, οὐκ ἐθεάσατο· εἰπὼν ὅτι, 'Βασιλέα, ἀλλ' οὐ νεκροὺς ἰδεῖν ἐπεθύμησα.' Καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης αἰτίας, οὐδὲ τῷ Ἄπιδι ἐντυχεῖν ἠθέλησε· λέγων, 'Θεοὺς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βοῦς προσκυνεῖν εἰθίσθαι.' "Ptolemæorum autem corpora, quanquam ea ostendere Alexandrini enixe volebant, non spectavit: 'Regem se, non mortuos voluisse videre,' dicens. Eâdemque de causâ Apim quoque noluit accedere. 'Deos se, non boves, adorare consuevisse, perhibens.'" Dio Cassius, lib. li. c. 16.

been in Egypt, had caused the breast-plate of Alexander to be taken from his Tomb; and, during his pantomimic triumphs, used occasionally to wear it[h]. Severus, whose thirst of knowledge, and enterprizing curiosity, caused him to penetrate into all parts of the country, and to visit whatever might illustrate the policy and literature of Egypt, collected, according to Dio Cassius, the sacred volumes, containing the writings of the priests and the explanation of their hieroglyphics; and having deposited them in the Tomb of Alexander[i], caused the monument to be shut; that the people might not, through their influence, be excited to sedition; and that for the future no person should have access to the shrine[k].

Every additional fact respecting this monument, as we advance to the age in which we live, serves to throw new light upon its history. By the account of Augustus's visit, we were taught, that not only the body of Alexander, but

[h] "Triumphalem quidem ornatum etiam ante expeditionem assiduè gestavit: interdum et Magni Alexandri thoracem, repetitum E CONDITORIO EJUS.". Sueton. in Calig. c. 52.

Ἐπειδή τε ἕτοιμα ἦν, τόν τε θώρακα τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου, (ὡς γε ἔλεγε) καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ χλαμύδα σηρικὴν ἀλουργῆ, πολὺ μὲν χρυσίον, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους Ἰνδικοὺς ἔχουσαν, ἐπενέδυ. "Omnibus perfectis, thoracem, quæ Alexandri fuerat, (sic enim perhibebat) et supra eum chlamydem sericam purpurei coloris, multo auro multisque gemmis Indicis ornatam, induit." Dio Cassius, lib. lix. c. 17.

[i] At that time the whole of the *Peribolus*, called Σῶμα by Strabo, bore the name of the Tomb of Alexander.

[k] Dio Cassius, lib. lxxv. c. 17. A most extraordinary error appears in Suidas, where this act is attributed to Severus the Sophist (See Lexicon, Vol. III. p. 294. Σηβῆρος). His commentator, in noticing the mistake, justifies the author, by observing that the name of the Sophist has been inserted in a part of the text belonging to Severus the Emperor.

also those of the Ptolemies, reposed within the inclosure. All the commentators on the historians whose works we have cited are agreed upon this point. Yet the whole of the inclosure was called by the name of the body on whose account it had been originally constructed; and this would naturally be the case respecting the family cemetery of any sovereign or remarkable person. The appellation generally used has been, ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ; though sometimes words of more extensive signification, ΜΝΗΜΑ and ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ, have been introduced. The word ΣΩΜΑ, originally applied to the body, became afterwards, by way of eminence, the name of the sanctuary that inclosed it. Thus Strabo denominates the whole building in which Alexander and his successors were buried[l]; and what is still more remarkable, he defines it, by using the word ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ, an *inclosure* or *court*. These different expressions, applied to various parts of the same building, gave rise to the learned commentary of Casaubon, before cited[m]. And various other commentators on the historians who have mentioned the Tomb (having more the idea of a single coffin, than of a vast building; which, like other

[l] Μέρος δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον ΣΩΜΑ, ὃ ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ ἦν, ἐν ᾧ αἱ τῶν βασιλέων ταφαὶ, καὶ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου. "Regiarum pars et illud est, quod Soma appellatur, septum quoddam, in quo regum sepulturæ, et Alexandri erat." Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 794. edit. Casaubon.

[m] Note (c), p. 56. Casaubon preferred reading it ΣΗΜΑ instead of ΣΩΜΑ, in support of which he cites a passage from *Didymus*. The best editions of Strabo have the word ΣΩΜΑ; and the pure text of so accurate an author is sufficient authority for the use of it.

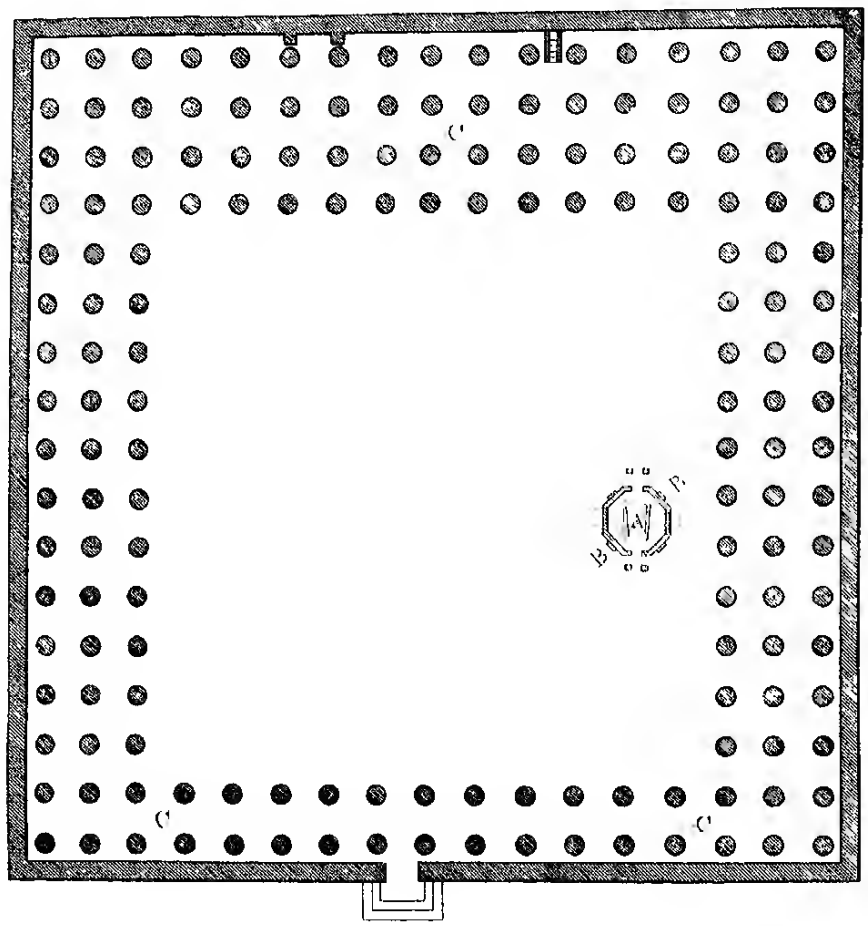
regal cemeteries, erected in modern times, at Turin[n], and in different places, was destined for the sepulchres of many kings) have expressed their conjectures accordingly. Our countryman Sandys alludes to that passage of Strabo, when he says[o], "Within a serraglio called *Somia*, belonging to the palaces, the Ptolomies had their sepultures, together with Alexander the Great." The remains of Alexander, placed in a sarcophagus, were further protected by a small chapel; and the whole stood within the *Peribolus*, which inclosed also the bodies of the Ptolemies. This is evident from the decree of Severus, who ordered the whole collection of Egyptian volumes to be shut up in the Monument (τῷ Μνημείῳ) of Alexander[p]: and Reimar, on the authority of Kirchmann, in his note on this passage, further adds[q], that this edifice was closed by doors. In the cathedral

[n] The magnificent cemetery of the kings of Sardinia, called *Superga*, on a mountain near Turin.

[o] Sandys' Travels, p. 112.

[p] Dio Cassius, lib. lxxv. c. 13.

[q] See Note (n), Animadv. Reimar. in Dion. p. 1266. edit. Hamburg. 1752. "Τῷ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνημείῳ συνέκλεισεν.] Libros ibi conclusos, intelligit hieroglyphicos, ne iis superstitiosa et mobilis gens, velut plebs Romana jactatis vulgò Sibyllinis oraculis, turbaretur. *Sepulchra enim foribus occlusa erant;* vide Kirchmann. III. 15. et religiosè occlusa tenebantur, additis interdum diris, si quis aperuisset."—It is most probable the edifice had doors; but having looked into Kirchmann's work (De Funeribus Romanorum), the author referred to by Reimar, in support of this opinion, there is nothing conclusive with respect to this particular sepulchre. Kirchmann cites *Xiphilinus in Severo;* but that quotation does not mention *doors:* and the whole is in fact the original text of Dio Cassius. Xiphilinus abridged the works of Dio; but in this passage the words are exactly the same, with the single transposition of σῶμα τούτου for τούτου σῶμα: so that the commentator, by citing *Kirchmann*, is unconsciously referring to the identical text on which his comment is made.




Ground Plan of the SOMA, mentioned by Strabo near the Mosque of St. Athanasius, shewing the situation of the Sanctuary and Tomb of Alexander as described by Dio. Greaves and the Parabolas in which Septimius Severus shut up the writings of the Egyptians together with the Tomb —

A The Tomb of Alexander
B B The little Chapel or Sanctuary
C C C The Parabolas or Enclosure

church of Milan, the body of St. Boromæo lies in a glass coffin, within a small chapel; over which is the cathedral. To this shrine, as to Alexander's, pilgrims come from all parts, and the same custom of leaving alms has been common to both[r]. We find the small chapel mentioned by Leo Africanus[s], under the words "*ædiculam instar sacelli constructam;*" as will be further proved when we call in the testimony of that author respecting the Tomb. But the words of Strabo are such as to remove all doubt; and the most perfect comment upon them is suggested by the view of the building, even in its present ruined state[t], in which the Tomb of Alexander was found. The Ground Plan of it is represented in the third Plate. In that representation will be seen the present form of the SOMA of the Ptolemies, converted, upon the introduction of Christianity, to a primitive church, and, after the conquest of the Saracens, to a Turkish mosque; magnificent even in its degraded state, and dignified by memorials of its former greatness. Near the centre of the inclosure is the small sanctuary which inclosed the Sarcophagus, when it was discovered by the French, bearing the name of *the*

[r] "Concurrit autem ingens eò peregrinorum vulgus à longinquis etiam regionibus, colendi ac reverendi sepulchri gratiâ, cui quoque magnas frequenter largiuntur eleemosynas." Leon. African. de Africæ Descript. Tom. II p. 677. edit. Elzevir. 1632.

[s] Ibid.

[t] See the second Plate; which also shows the mode of worshipping the Sarcophagus, as observed by Denon, when he was employed in making a drawing of the interior of the Mosque, and the situation of the Tomb.

*Tomb of Alexander, the founder of the city*[u]; and round the whole is the *Peribolus,* or inclosure, so expressly mentioned by Strabo[x].

The Tomb of Alexander has thus been accompanied by historical evidence through a period of five hundred years, from the time in which Ptolemy constructed the shrine, until the Emperor Severus ordered it to be shut. The avenues of antient history, as far as they lead to a knowledge of this monument, seem to close with the doors that concealed it from observation. Excepting the single instance of the visit of Caracalla, the venerable records from which we have hitherto derived our evidence furnish little testimony concerning it. As soon, therefore, as we shall have related the honours rendered to it by the son of Severus, we must have recourse to different sources of information. The events that took place immediately afterwards will account for the interval of obscurity in which its history was involved, until it once more became recognized by the world; and thus, by connecting the thread of antient and modern annals, bring down a series of undeniable evidence to the present hour.

Visited by Caracalla, A. D. 213.

Caracalla, whose fondness for the name and ensigns of Alexander is still preserved on the medals of that emperor,

[u] Thus on the medals of Alexander KTIC. and KTICT. for KTICTHΣ, *the founder*, are added to his name; and on his account, as their founder (τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν οἰκιστὴν αὐτῶν), Augustus forbore to massacre the Alexandrians. Julian also distinguishes him by the same title. See medals of *Apollonia*, whether of *Caria*, or *Pisidia*. Dio Cassius, lib. i. c. 16. and Julian. ad Alexandrinos, epist. x.

[x] Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 794. edit. Casaubon.

made his veneration for him, and his desire to consult a God so much reverenced by the inhabitants, the pretext for his visit to Alexandria. Herodian relates[y], that the magnificent preparations to receive him were greater than for any former emperor. They met him with the liveliest demonstrations of joy, sparing neither expence nor toil to render his reception splendid and honourable. As soon as he arrived within the city, he entered the temple, immolating victims, and heaping incense upon the altars. He then visited the *Monument* (Μνῆμα) of Alexander, and placed upon the *Tomb* (τῇ Σορῷ) a purple vest, together with splendid rings set with the most brilliant gems, a rich girdle, and various other costly offerings[z]. The Alexandrians, duped by his hypocrisy, and believing the shrine which his father had closed would be again open to their adoration, as well as protected by their emperor, gave way to the most extravagant joy, and passed whole nights and days in festivity; not knowing, says the historian[a], "the vindictive machinations of the king." This passage, in the original

[y] Herodiani Hist. lib. iv. edit. Histor. Rom. Script. H. Steph. 1568.

[z] Ὡς δὲ εἰσήλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν σὺν παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ, πρῶτον εἰς τὸν νεὼν ἀνελθὼν, πολλὰς ἑκατόμβας κατέθυσε, λιβάνῳ τε τοὺς βωμοὺς ἐσώρευσεν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ΜΝΗΜΑ, τήν τε χλαμύδα ἣν ἔφερεν ἁλουργῆ, δακτυλίους τε οὓς εἶχε λίθων τιμίων, ζωστῆράς τε καὶ εἴτι πολυτελὲς ἔφερε, περιελὼν ἑαυτοῦ, ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἐκείνου ΣΟΡΩΙ. "Sed ubi in urbem jam pervenit, primò quidem templum ingressus est, multisque victimis immolatis, ac thure cumulatis altaribus, ad Alexandri *Monimentum* se contulit, paludamentumque purpureum, et claris speciosisque gemmis anulos conspicuos, balteumque et siqua alia gestabat elegantiora, dempta sibi, tum illius imposuit *tumulo*." Herodiani Hist. lib. iv. ibid.

[a] Ibid.

text, affords very satisfactory evidence of the sarcophagus or stone coffin; and the distinction made by Herodian, between the *monument*, ΜΝΗΜΑ, and the *immediate receptacle of the body*, ΣΟΡΟΣ, is remarkable. Homer uses the word ΣΟΡΟΣ in this sense[b]. In Dioscorides[c], cited by Scapula, the words ΣΟΡΟΙ ΣΑΡΚΟΦΑΓΟΙ allude to a particular kind of stone, which had the property of corroding dead bodies, and hastening their natural decomposition; whence all stone coffins became afterwards designated by the general term *flesh-eaters* or *sarcophagi*. Plutarch also uses the words ΛΙΘΙΝΑΣ ΣΟΡΟΥΣ, *stone coffins*[d].

The solemn mockery carried on by Caracalla, during his visit to Alexandria, ended in the most dreadful cruelties. "Upon the slightest provocation, he issued his commands for a general massacre. From a secure post in the temple of Serapis, he viewed and directed the slaughter of many thousand citizens as well as strangers, without distinguishing either the number or the crime of the sufferers[e]."

Destruction of the Pagan Temples, A. D. 381.

Thus, by one act of the most ferocious and brutal tyranny, the shrine of Alexander was deprived of the greatest portion of its votaries. Whether the successors of Caracalla adopted the policy of Severus, and kept the monument shut, is uncertain. The time was fast approaching, when a revolution, affecting the whole of the Roman Empire, by

[b] Iliad Ψ. 90.

[c] Dioscorid. lib. v. c. 142.

[d] Plutarch in Num.

[e] Gibbon, Vol. I. p. 139. It is surprizing the historian makes no mention of the visit paid either by Severus or Caracalla to the Tomb of Alexander.

producing a total change of religious sentiments in Alexandria, materially affected the safety of the Tomb. It was at the beginning of the third century when Caracalla paid his memorable visit to that city. The persecution of the Christians was then preparing the overthrow and destruction of the heathen idols; and that century had scarcely elapsed before the full tide of religious fury burst upon the temples of the Pagan world. Their complete subversion is believed to have taken place about sixty years after the conversion of Constantine[f]. "In this wide and various prospect of devastation, the attention of the spectator is called to the ruins of the temple of Jupiter Serapis, at Alexandria[g]." The archiepiscopal throne of that city was then filled by Theophilus[h], described by Gibbon[i] as "the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue; a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood."

[f] Gibbon, Vol. III. p. 70.

[g] Ibid. p. 82. This deity was brought by the Ptolemies from Sinope on the coast of Pontus. The Egyptians at first refused admittance to the new god (Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. i. c. 7.); but a prodigious temple, called the *Serapium*, one of the wonders of the world, (Rufinus, lib. ii. c. 22.) was afterwards erected in honour of it. The colossal statue of this deity was composed of a number of plates of different metals, and it touched on either side the walls of the sanctuary. It was believed that the heavens and the earth would return to their primitive chaos, if the figure of the god were profaned by violence. A soldier was, however, bold enough to aim a blow, with a battle-axe, against the cheek of the idol, which, falling to the ground, was afterwards demolished.

[h] Gibbon, ibid. p. 83. Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. Tom. II. p. 441—500.

[i] Gibbon, ibid.

The Idols in Alexandria destroyed, A. D. 389.

In consequence of the insults offered by that prelate to the Pagan temples, the greatest disorder took place in Alexandria. An appeal was made to Theodosius, to decide the quarrel between the Heathens and the Christians; and the consequence was an imperial mandate for the destruction of the idols of Alexandria. The idols themselves were speedily demolished; and doubtless the body of Alexander was not spared when the statue of Serapis was destroyed. But the strength and solidity of the shrines and temples, that had inclosed their idols, presented obstacles to their demolition which were not so easily overcome. Theophilus found them so insuperable, in his attempts to destroy the temple of Serapis, that he was obliged to leave the foundation, and to content himself with reducing the edifice alone to a heap of rubbish: a part of which was soon afterwards cleared away, to make room for a church in honour of the Christian martyrs[k]. Thus we see that some of the noblest works of the antients resisted the destructive fanaticism of those times, and were frequently converted to the holiest purposes by the teachers of the Gospel. In the number of buildings that survived, either partially or entirely, the introduction of Christianity, may be reckoned, the temple of Jupiter Serapis in Alexandria[l], that of the celestial Venus at Carthage[m], and the

[k] Gibbon, Vol. III. p. 84.

[l] Ibid.

[m] Ibid. p. 81. Prosper. Aquitan. lib. iii. c. 38. apud Baronium; Eccles. A. D. 389. N° 58, &c.

majestic dome of the Pantheon at Rome[n]. A number of smaller temples were protected by their remote situation, and others by the fears, the venality, the taste, or the prudence of the civil and ecclesiastical governors[o]. The Alexandrian Sarcophagus was certainly one of the works, which either by its nature defied, or from its beauty escaped the rage of the reformers. Whatever scepticism may prevail respecting its history, no one will be hardy enough to deny its antiquity. The early Christians were unable to remove it; and it is most probable that its present perfect state is owing to their inability, even in the work of destruction. A primitive church was built over it, bearing the name of St. Athanasius; and the body having been removed, the Tomb itself was converted into a cistern. The worship of the God, whose relics had once been deposited within that beautiful monument, had long ceased; but, in defiance of the zeal of the primitive Christians, its appellation remained unaltered. Indeed, it is difficult to account for the policy which endeavoured to obliterate the remembrance of its name; for as long as the history of its original greatness remained, it continued a lasting trophy of the victory of Christ[p].

[n] Gibbon, ibid. Donatus, Roma Antiqua et Nova, lib. iv. c. 1. p. 468. This consecration was performed by Pope Boniface IV.

[o] Gibbon, ibid.

[p] Ibid. p. 79. "Those stately edifices might be suffered to remain, as so many lasting trophies of the victory of Christ."

During the time the Christians were in possession of Alexandria, historians are silent respecting the Sarcophagus; although some notice of it is found in the writings of the Fathers. Eight years after the Imperial mandate for the destruction of the idols in Alexandria, Chrysostom was chosen patriarch of Constantinople[q]. What influence he had in the promulgation of that decree cannot now be determined; but his zeal, in opposing the divine honours rendered to Alexander, is evident, in the reproof offered to the people of Antioch for wearing the image of the Son of Ammon[r]. After the destruction of the temple erected over him, and the demolition of his body, he contrasts the fallen dignity of the Tomb with the veneration paid to the sepulchres of the Martyrs; and triumphantly exclaims[s], "Where is now the Tomb of Alexander? Show me! Tell me the day of his death? But the sepulchres of Christ's servants are so splendid, that they occupy a renowned and regal city; and their days are so illustrious and famous, that they are celebrated as festivals over the whole world."

[q] A. D. 397.

[r] See Note (h), p. 12. Introduction.

[s] Ποῦ γὰρ, εἰπέ μοι, τὸ σῆμα Ἀλεξάνδρου; δεῖξόν μοι, καὶ εἰπὲ τὴν ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ἐτελεύτησε. Τῶν δὲ δούλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὰ σήματα λαμπρὰ, τὴν βασιλικωτάτην καταλαβόντα πόλιν· καὶ ἡμέραι καταφανεῖς, ἑορτὴν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ποιοῦσαι. "Ubi enim, quaeso, Alexandri tumulus est? Ostende mihi; et die quo die mortuus sit. At Christi servorum tum splendida sepulchra sunt, ut quae urbem praestantissimam ac regiam occuparint, et dies noti atque clari, qui festi a toto orbe celebrentur." Chrysostom Opera, Tom. X. p. 625. edit. Montfaucon.

Other annals, not less respectable, nor less entitled to attention, preserve the memory of Alexander's Tomb. Historians of a new class present themselves, upon the expiration of the old; but which, from their remote situation, have not been subject to the same examination. It has been reserved for an age in which the study of Oriental literature begins to be considered a more important part of education[t], to prove, that the memory of Alexander was not less grateful to the followers of Mahomet than to the successors of the Ptolemies[u]. Almost all the nations of the East have added to the number of his biographers: accordingly, we find the name of Alexander, in Eastern writings, connected with the glorious titles of "LORD OF THE TWO ENDS OF THE WORLD," "THE CONQUEROR," "THE KING OF KINGS[x];" and the marvellous history of his victories

Oriental Historians.

[t] Witness the academical institutions of Vienna and Paris, whose example, it is hoped, will instigate Britain to patronize establishments of so much advantage to her politics and literature.

[u] "Les Orientaux citent en plusieurs endroits de leurs ouvrages des actions et des paroles mémorables de ce monarque, lequel n'est pas moins connu parmi eux que parmi nous." D'Herbelot, Dict. Orient. p. 319.

[x] Ibid. p. 317. 335. 395. 795. 993. Alexander is called by Eastern writers, ISCANDER BEN PHILICOUS, *Alexander the Son of Philip;* ISCANDER AL ROUMI, *Alexander the Greek;* but D'Herbelot (Dict. Orient. p. 722) writes it *Eskender*. He is called in the Koran, and by most writers, ISCANDER DHOULCARNEIN; in Persian, SECUNDER DZOU 'L CURNINE, RHAUZI, SIYAH SHAUHAUN. "This surname (*Dhoulcarnein*)," says D'Herbelot, "comes from the *two Horns of the World*, as the Orientalists call them; that is, from the *East* and *West*, which Alexander conquered." Dict. Orient. p. 317. "With one hand you touch the *East*, and with the other the *West*," said the Scythians in their oration to Alexander, as given by Quintus Curtius, lib. vii. c. 8. Some Persian scholars give a different interpretation. They affirm that the title of LORD OF THE TWO HORNS is literally

blended with all the fiction and hyperbole which characterize the Indian, Persian, and Turkish historians. "If there are circumstances," says Richardson[y], "in those Eastern details, inconsistent with truth, let it be remembered, that they are not more visionary than the legendary improbable fictions which swell the Greek histories. The conquests of Alexander are celebrated in many Arabic and Turkish histories, romances, and poems, under the titles of, SIKENDER NAME', *the Book of Alexander;* AINEH ISKENDERI, *the Mirror of Alexander;* BEHARISTAN, *the Mansion of the Spring.*" In addition to these may be mentioned SAIRAT AL ESCANDER, *the Life of Alexander,* by *Aboulfarage Souri*; and the writings of the celebrated Persian historian *Khondemir,* librarian to *Emir Ali Schir;* who, as he relates of himself, profited by his situation, and his passion for history, to collect the purest and most accurate intelligence from the best authors. The title of his work KHELASSAT ALAKHIAR FI BEÏAN AHUAL ALAKHIAR, *Book of pure and accurate Intelligence from authentic and sure Histories,* promises a copious source of information. *Edrissi,* who wrote a work on the Pyramids, relates[z], that Alexander the Great erected an

LORD OF THE ASCENDANT, and depends entirely on the horoscope of nativity. Whenever the birth of a prince was accompanied by the fortunate omen of an ascending planet, he received the title of *Dhoulcarnein.* It is an Oriental custom; and Alexander received this name after his conquest of the East. Aurungzebe was *Lord of the ascendant,* and had this title of *Dhoulcarnein* as well as other Eastern princes.

[y] Orient. Dict. Vol. II. p. 1032.

[z] See D'Herbelot, Dict. Orient. p. 311.

obelisk of Thebaic stone in Alexandria; which he describes as a sort of black marble. This circumstance is well worthy the attention of travellers; though no work answering his description has yet been discovered among the ruins. The same author also mentions a curious historical fact. He says that Alexander transported to the Isle of *Socotora* a colony of Greeks (*Iounanion*, Ionians), to cultivate the wood of aloes, so much used by Orientalists as a perfume in smoking. Socotora was famous for the produce of this tree; and its virtues, according to Edrissi, were made known to Alexander by Aristotle[a]. The aloe of that island was called, by way of distinction, *Socothori*. The remains of their colony would be a curious object of inquiry[b].

The life of Alexander is also given in the HAUGIAL, *Lives of the Philosophers*, with that of Aristotle. It were endless to attempt the enumeration of all the Arabic, Persic, and Turkish authors who have recorded the conquests and actions of Alexander. Reference may be made to the LOBB AL TAOVARIKH[c], *the Marrow of Histories;* the TARIKH MONTEKHEB; and to the Oriental Dictionaries of Richardson and D'Herbelot, under the words ISCANDER and

[a] D'Herbelot, ibid. p. 727.

[b] The island Socotora is in the Indian Ocean, opposite the Straits of Babelmandel.

[c] According to D'Herbelot (Orient. Dict. p. 515), the work often cited under the corrupted and abbreviated name of *Lebtarikh*.

Escender[d]. The Arabians had a peculiar claim to the knowledge of Alexander. It is recorded by Arrian[e], that he endeavoured to hold the third place in the list of their Gods; and among the surprizing revolutions of empire and opinion, they were ultimately destined to become the guardians of his Tomb.

Invasion of the Saracens, and Conquest of Alexandria, A. D. 640.

The introduction of this subject leads to the consideration of one of the most extraordinary and most interesting events that have happened in the history of mankind. We have seen the throne of the Ptolemies give way to the power of the Cæsars, and the Pagan superstitions to the Christian faith: and as new conquerors were advancing from the uttermost parts of the Roman Empire, to subvert the last remains of its greatness, a tribe of independent shepherds, converting their crooks to spears, came, from their stony and sandy deserts, to establish a dominion upon the ruins of Christianity and of Rome. Many ages before the birth

[d] In the course of such an inquiry, it would be satisfactory to consult the Tarikh Eskanderiah, a *History of Alexandria*, composed by *Ouagiheddin Mansour Ben Selim al Eskanderi*. (See D'Herbelot, Dict. Orient. p. 860.) It might be procured at any of the principal cities in the East. The importance of such additions to our historical libraries, appears from the respect shown by the learned *Casaubon* to the work of *Leo Africanus*, almost the only Oriental geographer who has been preserved to us in a legible form. The Latin translation was the work of *Florian*, and is not faithful to the original text. The Italian edition being his own translation from the Arabic, ought to have the preference Gibbon has shown it; but copies of it are not easily obtained. Marmol, in his description of Africa, (see Moreri, Dict. Hist. Art. *LEO*) has almost wholly copied this author, without so much as once naming him.

[e] Οὔκουν ἀπαξιοῦν καὶ αὐτὸν τρίτον ἂν νομισθῆναι πρὸς Ἀραβων θεόν. "Quapropter non indignum censebat se, qui pro tertio Deo apud Arabas haberetur." Arrian. Gronovii. L. Bat. 1704. lib. vii. p. 300.

of Mahomet, their valour had been tried and respected by their neighbours[f]; but on the introduction of the precepts of the Koran, heated by religious fury, it burst the frontier of Arabia, and alarmed the nations of the world with the most awful visitation[g]. In the reign of Heraclius, and under the caliphate of Omar, after the invasion and conquest of Persia and Syria, they seized upon the fertile land of Egypt[h], captured the cities of Memphis, Babylon, and Caïro, and came to besiege Alexandria[i]. The general, or, as he is usually called, lieutenant[k], who commanded in this undertaking, was the victorious Amrou, whose exploits make such a conspicuous figure in the history of those times. No exertion of the Christians could withstand his intrepidity and perseverance. After a siege of fourteen months, and a sacrifice of no less than twenty-three thousand of his men, the city was abandoned to his troops. According to Ockley[l], this event took place in the twentieth year of the Hegira, and the year of Christ 640. D'Herbelot[m] fixes it in the eighteenth or nineteenth year of the Hegira; but in another part of his work he agrees with Ockley, and allows it to have been the twentieth. Gibbon is of the latter opinion[n], and states it to have happened on

[f] Gibbon, Vol. V. c. 50. p. 180.
[g] Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. I. p. 307.
[h] Ibid. [i] Ibid. [k] Dict. Orient. p. 580.
[l] Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. I. p. 309. Note.
[m] Dict. Orient. p. 580.
[n] Gibbon, Vol. V. p. 40. Both Eutychius (Annal. Tom. II. p. 319) and Elmacin (Hist. Saracen. p. 28) concur in fixing the taking of Alexandria to Friday

a Friday, the twenty-second day of December, in the year 640; which allows a period of two hundred and fifty-one years, from the final destruction of the temple of Serapis, and the overthrow of the Pagan idols in Alexandria.

The *Soma*, or ΣΗΜΑ, converted to a Mosque.

With the entrance of the Arabs we look once more to the Tomb of Alexander; and we find that almost one of their first measures, upon gaining possession of the city, connects itself with the Sarcophagus. The Peribolus, which inclosed this Monument, together with the tombs of the Ptolemies, had been converted, at the downfal of Paganism, to a Christian church, bearing the name of St. Athanasius. The same building, at the conquest of the Arabs, once more changed its nature, and became a mosque; but the name of the saint to which it was dedicated by the Christians was still annexed to it by the Mahometans, and it was called the Mosque of St. Athanasius[o]. By this fortunate circumstance we are enabled to keep our view faithfully directed, in all the periods of its history, to the particular building in which the body of Alexander was placed; and, having found the Tomb stationed exactly as historians have described it, meet with an ultimate consummation of the evidence in the tradition and records of the Arabs; who, while they prostrated themselves to do it homage, declared

of the new moon of Moharram, of the twentieth year of the Hegira; Dec. 22. A.D. 640. Gibbon, Vol. V. p. 340. c. 51. Note (''').

[o] The Mosque of St. Sophia, in Constantinople, is another instance of the same kind; and other Christian churches in Turkey preserve their original name, though converted to mosques.

it to be THE TOMB OF ALEXANDER, THE FOUNDER OF THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA. When the Parthenon at Athens became first known to the moderns, we had not greater evidence of its identity: yet when discovered, no doubt remained as to its origin. The wonder excited by the view of it, is certainly of the highest description. We are accustomed to prove the truth of its pretensions, by stating the impossibility of such a work in any other age than that of Pericles, and by any other people than the Athenians. Let it also be remarked, that the Alexandrian Sarcophagus bids defiance to the Arts, at any other period than that of Ptolemy, and in any other country than that of Egypt.

Alexander being one of the Gods of the Arabians, and also having a place in the Koran[p], the conquest of Alexandria by that people may be referred to as the time in which his Tomb again obtained respect and reverence: and as the Arabs continued to inhabit that place during the remaining period of eleven centuries and a half, it will be only necessary to prove, from their own writers, as well as from the testimony of travellers who have been able to procure intelligence of the Tomb, that it stood in the situation assigned it by antient historians; that it was regarded with superstitious veneration, as the Tomb of Alexander the Great; that the inclosure of the Mosque, together with the small sanctuary in which the Tomb

[p] See Sale's Translation of the Koran, Vol. II. c. 18. p. 124.

was found, retained marks of the magnificence which had adorned the building before it yielded its Pagan honours to the rites of Christianity or of Islamism[q]; and that the Tomb itself, proved to be of a substance peculiar to Egypt[r], agrees, in that respect, with a record[s] which states it to have been of Egyptian stone.

Eutychius made Patriarch of Alexandria, A. D. 933.

Two hundred and thirty-seven years after the Arabs took possession of the city, Saïd Ebn Batric was born[t]. It is not certain at what time he composed in Arabic his Annals of Alexandria; but on the eighth of September, in the year 933, he was made patriarch of that city, and changed his name from *Saïd* to *Eutychius*[u]. In his work it is related, that the body of Alexander was brought to Alexandria in a case of gold: but the author, occupied in writing a long and curious account of the funeral ceremony, does not mention the Tomb which was constructed afterwards. As an early and zealous Christian, it is very probable he did not choose to notice an object of Mahometan worship; neither could he have access to the mosque in which it

[q] See p. 88.

[r] See Professor Hailstone's Letter, in the Appendix.

[s] See p. 81.

[t] See *Chronologia Eutychiana Synopsis*, prefixed to Pococke's edition of *Eutychius*, printed at Oxford in 1659.—Moreri (Hist. Dict.) says he flourished about the tenth century. He was born Sept. 8, 877; and made patriarch at fifty-six years of age, Feb. 7, 933. If therefore his work was written after he was twenty-three years of age, it must not be attributed to the tenth century. It was probably not written until after he was patriarch. He died in 948.

[u] "Nam *Said* idem Arabicè significat quod Græcè *Eutychius* aut *Eutyches*, aut Latinè *Fortunatus*." Præfat. Seldeni ad Eutych. Annal. edit. Lond. 1642.

was contained. According to him, Olympias, upon the earliest intelligence of her son's death, prepared a magnificent banquet, to which she gave a general invitation; but that those only should be admitted who had never experienced any affliction. The guards made known the order to all who applied for entrance; and the consequence was, that they were sent away: Olympias being thus consoled for the severe loss she had sustained, from a conviction that adversity is common to all. The body was then inclosed by Philemon, one of Alexander's counsellors, in a case of gold, and conducted to Alexandria. As soon as it arrived, it was carried into a conspicuous part of the city; and being there deposited upon the pavement, the Sages were ordered to chant over it consolatory and moral dirges[x]. These compositions are too long to be inserted: they fill nearly four pages of the work. Plato and Aristotle are introduced among the number of those philosophic bards; and, by a singular anachronism, the manes of Alexander are honoured in the aphorisms of a sage who died during the life of his father Philip, and who, at that time, could only speak by the mouth of his disciple the Stagirite[y].

[x] "Sapientes jussisse unumquemque *Epicedium* canere quod amicis solamini, omnibus instituendis, inserviret." Eutych. Annal. Tom. I. p. 288.

[y] As Aristotle died in the year 322 B.C. and Alexander's body came to Egypt in the preceding year, there is no improbability in supposing he went to Alexandria, to be present at the funeral of his illustrious scholar; for which such immense preparations had been carrying on for two years before, and which attracted the notice of all the civilized world.

Benjamin of Tudela visits Alexandria

A lapse of two centuries more brings us to the period in which Benjamin of Tudela, a Spanish Jew, came to Alexandria. After his return to Castile, an account of his travels was drawn up, in Hebrew, from his journal. His writings, although very interesting, as they carry us back to the middle of the twelfth century, afford little testimony[z]; as the Sarcophagus he speaks of, may have been one of the tombs of the Ptolemies, at that time removed from the SOMA to the sea shore, and neglected among the ruins. As a Jewish Rabbi, he had little chance of gaining admission to any Mahometan place of worship, and death would have been the consequence of an attempt to enter the sanctuary of Alexander's Tomb. However, it would be improper to omit any notice which can be thought to bear reference to the subject. "There, on the sea shore," says he, speaking of Alexandria, "is seen a marble sepulchre, on which are sculptured all sorts of birds and other animals, with an inscription by the antients, which no one can read. They have a conjecture that some king, before the deluge, was there buried: the length of which sepulchre was fifteen spans, the breadth six[a]."

[z] "Tantum est. Non tamen, erudite Lector,
Tantum est: nec volo te manu abstinere
A tam frugifero et bono libello."

*Itinerarium* BENJAMINI, in fin. Dissertat. ad Lector. edit. *L'Empereur*. ap. Elzevir. L. Bat. 1633.

[a] "Ibi in maris littore marmoreum conspicitur sepulchrum, cui omnia avium aliorumque animalium genera insculpta sunt, omnia cum priscorum inscriptione, quam nemo legere potest. E conjecturâ ferunt, olim ibi regem quendam ante

John Leo *Africanus* does homage at the Tomb of Alexander, A. D. 1491.

After Benjamin of *Tudela*, a learned Mahometan, of that tribe of Arabs who were called Moors, retired into Africa, at the capture of Grenada by the Spaniards, and wrote a description of the country in Arabic. His original name is lost in the appellation he afterwards received, upon being converted to Christianity. Pope Leo the Tenth persuading him to be baptized, and becoming his godfather, christened him *Johannes Leo*. These circumstances are introduced, because it is of consequence to show, that when he visited Alexander's Tomb, which he describes as revered by Mahometans, he was himself of the sect of *Islam*, and had by his own worship established the truth of that opinion to which his evidence is now required.

The text of Leo may be literally translated in these words[b]: "Neither ought it to be omitted, that, *in the midst of the ruins of Alexandria*, there still remains a small edifice, built like a *chapel*, worthy of notice on account of *a remarkable Tomb*, held in high honour by the Mahometans; in which sepulchre, they assert, is preserved the BODY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT, AN EMINENT PROPHET AND KING, as they read in their Koran. An immense crowd of strangers comes thither, even from distant countries, for the sake of worshipping and doing homage to the Tomb; on which, likewise, they frequently bestow considerable donations."

diluvium hisse sepultum: cujus sepulchri *longitudo quindecim spithamarum erat; latitudo autem sex*." Itinerarium Benjamini, p. 124.

[b] "Neque prætermittendum videtur, in medio Alexandriæ ruderum, ædiculam instar sacelli constructam adhuc superesse, insigni sepulchro, magno à Machumetanis

Marmol, a Spaniard, visits the Tomb.

Marmol the Spaniard followed Leo; and Moreri observes[c], that his work is almost wholly copied from that author; without once acknowledging it, or even introducing his name. The great similarity which appears in their description of Alexander's Tomb seems to justify the opinion. Marmol must have visited Egypt very soon after the publication of Leo's work; as that author died in 1526[d], and Marmol was in Alexandria early in the sixteenth century. His words, literally translated from the French text, are to this effect[e]: "In the middle of the city, among its ruins, is a small edifice in the form of a chapel; where there is a sepulchre, which the Mahometans hold in great reverence; because they say, that Alexander the Great, *Escander*, is there buried, whom they worship as a King and a Prophet, and mention in their Alcoran, and, through devotion, resort to it from afar."

Jahia Ben Abdallathif al Cazuini, A. D. 1570, describes the *substance* of the Tomb.

After Marmol may be cited the *Lobb al Tuovarikh*, more commonly called *Lebtarikh*, THE MARROW OF HISTORIES, a work written in Persian by *Jahia Ben Abdallathif al Cazuini*, in the nine hundred and forty-eighth year of the Hegira. That author collected, from the most antient and

honore affecto memorabilem, quo Alexandri Magni corpus summi prophetæ ac regis, velut in Alcorano legunt, asservari contendunt. Concurrit autem ingens eò peregrinorum vulgus à longinquis etiam regionibus, colendi ac reverendi sepulchri gratiâ, cui quoque magnas frequenter largiuntur eleemosynas." Leo Africanus, Tom. II. p. 677.

[c] Hist. Dict. *LEO* (*Johannes*). [d] Ibid.

[e] L'Afrique de *Marmol*, de la traduction de *Perrot*. Paris. 1677. Tom. III. liv. xi. c. 14. p. 276.

authentic historians, the lives and actions of those kings who reigned before the birth of Mahomet. This forms the Second Part of his Work, which is divided into four sections. It is there recorded[f], that "Alexander the Greek built the cities of *Alexandria* in Egypt; of *Damascus* in Syria; of *Herat*, which was formerly *Aria* or *Artacoana*, in *Khorassan;* of *Sarmacand* in the province of *Mavaran-ahar*, which was the *Sogdiana* of the antients; and that his body was carried after his death to Alexandria, in a golden coffin, which his mother caused to be changed for one made of EGYPTIAN MARBLE." Even the nature and country of the substance is ascertained: and with regard to the circumstance related of Olympias, it may be observed, that as the body was brought to Egypt in the year 321 before Christ, and she was not put to death till the year 316, a sufficient interval is afforded for the construction of the Sarcophagus.

Geo. Sandys affirms the existence of the Tomb, A. D. 1611.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century it was first noticed by an English traveller. At the end of January, 1611, George Sandys sailed from Constantinople for Alexandria. The manner in which he mentions the Tomb has induced an opinion that his account was borrowed from Strabo and Leo *Africanus*, and that he did not himself see the object he describes. If he found their descriptions correspond with the appearance of the SOMA, and of the Tomb, the similarity between his narrative and the text of those

[f] See D'Herbelot, Dict. Orient. p. 318.

authors in no way impugns his credit as a writer. The same objection might be made to the authority of Denon, who certainly saw the Tomb. Few travellers, who have experienced the fidelity and strict accuracy of Sandys, will admit the imputation; and, after all, what does the charge imply? Whether he saw the Tomb or not, he affirms the fact of its existence there: and it is not consistent with the character he has obtained, to suppose, that, without any inquiry into the truth or falsehood of the assertion, he should positively affirm the Tomb was at that time *to be seen*. His words are these[g]:

"Within a serraglio called SOMIA, belonging to the palaces, the Ptolomies had their sepultures, together with Alexander the Great,

> "Of Macedon, in sacred vault possest
> And vnder high piles royall ashes rest[h].

"For Ptolomy the sonne of Lagus tooke his corps from Perdiccas: who bringing it from Babylon, and making for Ægypt, with intention to haue seized on that kingdome, vpon his approch was glad to betake himselfe into a desart iland, where he fell (thrust thorow with iauelins) by the hands of his souldiers: who brought the body vnto Alexandria, and buried it in the place aforesaid (the *Soma*);

[g] Sandys' "Relation of a Journey begun A.D. 1610." p. 112. edit. Lond. R. Allot. 1632.

[h] "Cum tibi sacrato Macedon servatur in antro,
Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescunt."
Lucan. l. viii.

then inclosed in a sepulcher of gold. But *Cybiosactes* the *Cyrian*, espousing the eldest daughter of *Auletes*, and in her right possest of the kingdom, (she being elected queene) dispoyled the body of that precious couerture: when forthwith strangled by Cleopatra, he lined not to enioy the fruites of his couetousnesse. After that it was couered with glasse, and so remained vntill the time of the Saracens. *There is yet here to be seene a litle Chappell: within, a Tombe, much honoured and visited by the Mahometans, where they bestow their almes; supposing his body to lie in that place: Himselfe reputed a great prophet, they being so informed by their Alcoran.*"

In the middle of the eighteenth century Dr. Pococke of Oxford published his "Description of the East." His allusion to the Tomb is marked by all the uncertainty which naturally resulted from the jealousy of the Mahometans, with regard to any object of their superstitious veneration. He relates[i], that "the first thing he did at Alexandria was to pace round the walls and take the bearings;" which though executed with all the caution that could be observed, awakened the jealousy of the Mahometans. Immediately afterwards he says[k], "The palace, with the suburbs belonging to it, was a fourth part of the city; within its district was the Museum, or Academy, and the burial-place of the kings, where the body of Alexander was

Richard Pococke, LL.D. A.D. 1743.

[i] Pococke's Descript. of the East, p. 3.

[k] *Ibid. p.* 4.

deposited in a coffin of gold, which being taken away, it was put into one of glass; in which condition, it is probable, Augustus took a view of the corpse of that great hero, and with the utmost veneration scattered flowers over it, and adorned it with a golden crown. As the Mahometans have a great regard for the memory of Alexander, so there have been travellers who relate that they pretended to have his body in some mosque; but at present they have no account of it."

Van Egmont and John Heyman; their account of the Sarcophagus and the Mosque.

Some important observations occur in the Travels of Egmont and Heyman, referring to the original magnificence of the *Soma*, or *Peribolus*, which inclosed the sanctuary prior to the æra in which it became a Christian church. It is such a description as we might expect to find applied to a building which surrounded the shrine of Alexander, and was moreover a cemetery for the kings of Egypt. "Here is also[l] a large structure, said to have still within it stately piazzas of Corinthian pillars; but *Turks only are permitted to enter it.* Nor is it safe for a Christian to come near the walls; *so that nothing can be said of it with certainty*[m]. They tell us, indeed, that it contains a large edifice, almost sunk under ground, decorated with a multitude of cupolas, supported by pillars. It is added, that IN IT IS A CHEST which no man can approach, at least

[l] Egmont and Heyman's Travels, Vol. II. p. 133.

[m] Can there be a stronger reason for the obscurity in which the history of this monument was so long involved?

not open, there being several instances of persons who, on attempting it, have dropt down dead: and hence it is that *the Turks keep a guard on the outside of this building*, and allow none to enter it on any account; for we made a very handsome offer to be admitted, but were refused.

"The Jews, from whom we had the above account, will have this to be an old temple built by Nicanor for the Jews, who fled in multitudes to Egypt, from the cruelties of Nebuchadnezzar; and this they pretend to prove from a certain passage in their Talmud. *But with regard to the dangerous chest, they acknowledge themselves entirely ignorant.* Others are equally positive that it was A CHURCH DEDICATED TO ST. ATHANASIUS."

It is not possible to have stronger proof of the extreme difficulty of gaining a knowledge of this Tomb in modern times. The Arabs would suffer no Christian to approach on pain of death; and the only account these intelligent travellers could obtain, with all their liberality and perseverance, was derived from Jews, a people more despised, if possible, by Mahometans than Christians.

James Bruce, A. D. 1768

In the year 1768, on the twentieth of June, Bruce arrived in Alexandria. Speaking of the Tomb of Alexander, he says, "It would have been spared even by the Saracens; for Mahomet speaks of Alexander with great respect, both as a king and a prophet;" but confesses he could hear nothing of it. This failure in a single traveller is of no consequence. Instances more extraordinary have occurred, wherein travellers

of equal eminence have been disappointed in their search of objects less removed from observation. Denon, with those Members of the Institute who explored the Delta, could not find the ruins of Saïs. Spon and Wheler went within sight of the ruins of Tithorea, at the foot of Parnassus, without noticing them, or being aware of the site of that city[n]. Travellers have visited the plain of Troy without being able to discern Gargarus, the summit of Ida; or, when arrived there, to behold the town of Bonarbashi, and the rivers in the plain. Want of observation, or unsuccessful research, afford no argument against the existence of the objects sought. Bruce relates, that, as he wore the Arab dress, he was under no constraint, but walked about the city as he pleased. Travellers have often worn that dress, but they have not found themselves sufficiently disguised to pass for Mahometans, and to enter mosques; especially when they lived in the houses of Franks, with recommendations to Consuls. But there is another circumstance to be considered, which at once explains the reason why Bruce did not see the Tomb of Alexander. He was at sea on the morning of the twentieth of June, when the city of Alexandria became first visible[o] from the ship in which he sailed; and in the afternoon he quitted the place for Rosetta[p]. What possible opportunity had he of making inquiry? As for his walking about, he acknowledges

[n] See the Third Appendix.

[o] Bruce's Travels, Vol. I. p. 7.

[p] Ibid. p. 13.

the plague had raged in the place from the beginning of March, and the inhabitants had only opened their houses two days before his arrival. Under such circumstances, would a traveller, anxious to penetrate to the source of the Nile, risk an association with Arabs and Turks? It is evident he did not; for he says, "I left with eagerness the threadbare inquiries into the meagre remains of this once famous capital of Egypt." He then went to Aboukir and Rosetta, and was at Cairo in the beginning of July. Marmol is cited by him[q], as having attested that he saw this monument in the year 1546: and it remains now to show that Irwin, who came after Bruce, saw it on the twenty-ninth of September, in the year 1777.

Irwin visited the Tomb, by venturing secretly into the Mosque of St. Athanasius, without the company or cognizance of the natives, and of course without their information concerning it. The Janizary, whom he brought with him to Alexandria, procured the key by stealth; and his curiosity being privately gratified, he thus describes his adventure[r]:

Tyles Irwin, A. D. 1777, procures admission to the Mosque, and sees the Tomb.

"We soon came to AN ANTIENT TEMPLE, a part of which is still habitable, and has been long appropriated to the service of Mahomet. On this account *we found some difficulty to obtain admittance.* But the key was at length procured by our Janizary, and we were shown into the neglected quarter. This is a square of very large

[q] Bruce's Travels, ibid. p. 13.

[r] Irwin's Series of Adventures, &c. p. 367.

diameter, which is surrounded with TRIPLE ROWS OF GRANITE PILLARS OF THE CORINTHIAN ORDER. These pillars are lofty, and support a roof which is still in a good state of preservation.

"The inside of the walls of this temple is inlaid with tables of marble of various colours, which, for their richness and novelty, cannot but engage the admiration of a stranger. In the area of the square is A STONE CISTERN of very antique mould. It is inscribed on all sides with hieroglyphics, and, from a rail which inclosed it, appears to have served for some religious purpose."

C. S. Sonnini sees the Tomb, A.D. 1780.

Sonnini resided more than once in Alexandria, and, as he relates[s], published a number of observations, made at different times, without any attention to the order in which they were made, or to their dates. By this means the exact time in which he visited the Tomb cannot be noted; but his travels ended in the year 1780, and he appears to have been in Alexandria a few years after Irwin. The extract from his work[t] is rather long; but, except a short passage from Mr. Browne's Travels, it is the last that will be made; and it contains observations worthy of particular attention, as it proves the difficulty of entering the Mosque, and accounts for the silence of travellers concerning the sepulchre. A Duke of Braganza is mentioned as the first European who discovered it.

[s] Sonnini's Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt, p. 67. edit. Lond. 1800.

[t] Ibid. p. 121.

"I had heard of a curious monument, A SORT OF ANCIENT TOMB, that was in a Mosque without the walls which enclose Alexandria[w]. I in vain expressed a wish to see it; I was assured that such a thing was not only dangerous, but impracticable. The French Consul and M. Adanson earnestly requested me to relinquish the idea. However M. Auguste, less timid, undertook to have me conducted thither privately, and without the knowledge of the other Frenchmen. A Janizary belonging to the factory accompanied us; the sheick of the Mosque, called *iman* by the Turks, *vicar* by the Christians, was waiting for us; and by means of a little money that M. Auguste had agreed to give this priest, we had an opportunity of examining every thing at our leisure. This temple is ancient; it was constructed by a caliph[x]; the walls are incrusted with marble of different colours, and some beautiful remains of mosaic were still to be seen.

"The TOMB, which was the object of our researches, and which may be considered *as one of the finest pieces of antiquity preserved in Egypt*, had been converted by the Mahometans[y] into a sort of pool, or reservoir, consecrated to contain water for their pious ablutions. It is very large, and would be an oblong square, were not one of its shorter

[w] That is to say, *Modern* Alexandria.

[x] Its being constructed by a caliph would not prove its antiquity. M. Sonnini of course intended, that a caliph converted into a mosque the building he found; which, as Denon relates, was formerly a primitive church.

[y] Or Christians; for it is impossible to say who first made the holes in its sides.

sides rounded off in the shape of a bathing-tub. In all probability it was formerly covered by a lid; but no traces of it are at present to be seen, and it is entirely open. It is all of one piece, and of a beautiful marble spotted with green, yellow, red, &c. upon a fine black ground; but what renders it particularly interesting, is the prodigious quantity of small hieroglyphics with which it is covered both within and without. A month would scarcely be sufficient to copy them faithfully; and no correct drawings have been taken of them to this day. That which I saw at Paris, upon my return from Egypt, at the house of Berthin the minister, could only serve to give an idea of the shape of the monument, the hieroglyphics having been traced by fancy, and at random. It would be much the same as if, in endeavouring to copy an inscription, we were to be satisfied with writing the letters without any order or connexion. It is, however, only by exactly copying the figures of this symbolical writing, that we can attain the knowledge of a mysterious language, on which depends that of the history of a country formerly so celebrated. When this language shall be known, we shall learn the origin of the Sarcophagus, and THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT MAN WHOSE ASHES IT CONTAINED. Till then all conjecture must be vague and uncertain.

"At the side of the Tomb, upon a piece of gray marble, serving as pavement to the Mosque, I perceived a Greek inscription, but in Roman letters; as it was half effaced,

more time would have been required to decipher it than we could spare. I was able to distinguish, at first sight, only the word CONSTANTINON[2].

"Formerly it was impossible to enter this Mosque; AND THIS ACCOUNTS FOR THE SILENCE OF TRAVELLERS CONCERNING THE SEPULCHRE THAT RENDERS IT SO INTERESTING. A Duke of Braganza was *the first European who visited it*, or rather discovered it, for he was directed thither by mere chance. He had passed in front of the temple; the door was wide open, and perceiving nobody about, he had the curiosity to go in. Some children, who had seen him, collected together, and came shouting round him: had their shouts been heard, there would have been an end of the Portuguese prince: he took out his purse, and silenced the children, by throwing them some pieces of money, which procured him a free and peaceable retreat. Since then, Mr. Montague, of whom I have already had occasion to speak, had in vain offered a large sum for permission to enter the Mosque. But some time after, the duties of it being performed by a sheick whose fancy for gold prevailed over the laws of fanaticism, it was open to every foreigner that could pay a sequin. The same year that I arrived at Alexandria, several Englishmen had gone thither without any precaution; some of the common people saw them, and murmured loudly. The commandant of Alexandria hastened

[2] One of the inscriptions belonging to the primitive church before the Arabs converted it into a mosque. Some future traveller may obtain more of *this* inscription.

to reprimand the sheick, and ordered him to admit no Christian. The noise that this affair had like to have occasioned, in a country where Europeans live in continual fear, was yet too recent not to leave some uneasiness on their minds; but our excursion to the Mosque had been so prudently planned, that nobody knew any thing of it, and no notice was taken."

W. G. Browne, A. D. 1792.

Mr. Browne arrived in Egypt on the tenth of January, 1792. The Sarcophagus was almost the first object which attracted his notice in that country. The vigilance of its keepers rendered it so difficult for him to see it, that, like other travellers, he is compelled to notice it in a cursory way, and apologizes for not being able to give a more minute account. If any person could have succeeded in obtaining the history, and in giving the description of the Tomb, it would have been the enterprizing traveller to whose work appeal is now made. With a genius for inquiry, greater than any of his predecessors, a knowledge of the language of the country, patient investigation, and unabated zeal, he superadded the advantage of being always in the national habit, and of mixing familiarly with the natives. Yet the danger of betraying any curiosity at that time, which might awaken the jealousy of the Mahometans, is evident from his narrative[a].

"There is also A SARCOPHAGUS or chest of serpentine marble in the great Mosque, which is used for a cistern.

[a] Browne's Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, p. 6.

It is of the same kind with that so minutely described by Niebuhr, at *Kallaat el Kabsh* in *Kahira*[b], and seems to be almost as rich in hieroglyphics. It has the additional advantage of being entire, and little if at all injured by time. It is said one of those who farmed the customs some years since, on retiring from Egypt, had negotiated for the removal of *this precious monument of antiquity*, on board of an European vessel, with the intention of carrying it as a present to the Emperor of Germany. On the night when it was to be embarked, however, the secret being disclosed, the citizens clamourously insisted that the property of the Mosque was inviolable. The projected removal was accordingly relinquished, and *the chest has ever since been watched with uncommon vigilance*, so that it is now difficult for an European even to obtain a sight of it; which must be my excuse for not having been more minute in my description of a monument that seems not to have been particularly observed by former travellers."

Denon and Dolomieux visit the Tomb, A. D. 1798.

The eighteenth century terminated with the memorable Expedition to Egypt. On the fourth day of July, 1798, Denon and Dolomieux beheld the Tomb of Alexander in the Mosque of St. Athanasius. The description given by the former, of the state in which they found the Sarcophagus, has been already inserted[c]. He also speaks of the Pagan ornaments observed among the ruins[d]. It is moreover to

[b] It is now in the British Museum.

[c] See page 25.

[d] Denon's Voyage en Egypte, Tom. I. p. 33.

be noticed, that although his words respecting the Tomb exactly correspond with those of Leo *Africanus*, and of Sandys, he is the only one of the three who does not mention the tradition which prevailed; and this is rendered more remarkable by his Plate, which, by representing the adoration paid to the Tomb, affords a comment on the text of Leo[c].

The evidence may now be closed. It has accompanied the Sarcophagus through a period of more than two thousand years. Alexander's body arrived in Egypt, at that memorable epoch, when the Samnites compelled the Roman army to pass beneath the yoke at Caudium. While Ptolemy was celebrating the funeral of a hero, with whom expired the glory of the greatest empire in the history of mankind, the inhabitants of a small territory in Italy were beginning to establish a dominion, which ultimately superseded the conquests of Alexander. As they rise to notice, the page of History attracts all our regard to another country, and the memory of Egypt and of the Eastern World is partially obliterated. To this cause we may attribute the obscurity which involves the history of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ. The series of Egyptian and of Syrian kings, who filled the splendid thrones of Alexandria and Antioch, is almost as difficult to determine, as the number of sumptuous works they constructed, and the purposes for which they were raised. It is not therefore surprizing

[c] See the View of the Mosque.

that a single Monument, secluded from observation by the jealousy and superstition of its guardians, should in later ages have escaped the notice of Europeans.

History has proved, that the shrine of the Son of Ammon stood within the precincts of the regal palace at Alexandria; and tradition, supporting history, points to his Tomb within a building which in its present state agrees with Strabo's description of the SOMA of the Ptolemies. The identity of antient relics has been rarely established by facts better authenticated. The tombs of Hesiod and Euripides moulder on the plains of Orchomene and Pella, while the classic traveller in vain requires of Albanian shepherds that oral testimony which might confirm the truth of the historian who has guided him to those interesting objects. But THE TOMB OF ALEXANDER was acknowledged and venerated by Barbarians, while it remained unregarded by the most enlightened and distinguished nations of the earth.

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# ADDITIONAL NOTES.

PAGE 12. line 13. "*The deified Alexander was the tutelar God of his successors.*"] Seleucus I. placed the image of Alexander on medals after his death. In the Plates of Duane's *Seleucida* it is given as a portrait of Seleucus the First, (See Plate I. p. 15. Fig. 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.) from which opinion there are two reasons for dissenting: *First*, Because the reverse of the medal is the same that appears on the coins of Alexander; and is not seen on any other medal of Seleucus, where his own head is really expressed. *Secondly*, Because the features do not resemble those of Seleucus, but agree with those exhibited on the medals of Lysimachus, Philip Aridæus, &c. In the same work, (Plate 3. Fig. 17.) it is again represented as a portrait of Antiochus the Second. In this manner it has been indiscriminately considered as the portrait of any sovereign who happened to express it on his coins. It is the portrait of Alexander, dressed with the lion's skin, according to the custom of the Macedonian kings. See Constantin. Porphyrog. lib. ii. thema ii. pp. 85, 86. As I am enabled, while adding this Note, though at a distance from the University, to procure a copy of the works of Goltzius, I will enumerate all the instances, in his collection of Greek Medals where the Portrait of Alexander seems to be represented.

## COUNTRIES, CITIES, AND KINGS.

1. A bronze medal of *Acarnania*, represents the head of Alexander dressed with the lion's skin. Inscription, ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΣΣΩΣΙ. Tabula sexta, N°. 3. Tom. III. Goltzii Opera, De Re Nummariâ.
2. A bronze medal of *Thebes*. Insc. ΘΕΒΗ. Ibid. Tab. xvi. N°. 8.
3. A bronze medal of the *Locri*. Ibid. Tab. xviii. N°. 9.
4. A silver medal of *Lysimachia*. Ibid. Tab. xxvi. N°. 7.
5. A silver medal of *Philip Aridæus*; insc. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; which Goltzius, as well as some other authors, has erroneously attributed to Philip the father of Alexander. Ibid. Tab. xxx. N°. 5.
6. A bronze medal of ditto. Ibid. Tab. xxx. N°. 8.
7. Ditto, ditto. Ibid. N°. 9.
8. Ditto, ditto. Ibid. N°. 10.
9. A bronze medal of *Alexander*; on the reverse of which is the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Ibid. Tab xxxi. N°. 3.
10. A gold medal of *Alexander*, on which the portrait of Alexander appears with the horn, as on the medals of Lysimachus; and, on the reverse, the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ;—an indisputable proof, that when expressed

on the latter, it could not be intended for the portrait of Lysimachus. Ibid. Tab. xxxi. N°. 4.

11. A silver medal of ditto. Ibid. Tab. xxxi. N°. 5.

12. A gold medal of ditto: Alexander's head, with the diadem. Ibid. Tab. xxxi. N°. 6.

13. Nineteen silver medals of ditto. *Ibid.* Tab. xxxii.

14. Fifteen bronze medals of ditto. Ibid. Tab. xxxiii.

15. Seventeen ditto, ditto. Ibid. Tab. xxxiv.

16. A bronze medal of ditto; showing the head of Alexander in a helmet. Insc. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Ibid. Tab. xxxv. N°. 1.

17. Ditto, ditto. A full face, with something of the Medusa character. I am inclined to think it was intended for the head of Alexander, for two reasons: *First*, Because it shows the *costume* of the Macedonians, as it now exists. The cap is the same worn by Albanians at this day; and they have the same mode of wearing the hair; which also agrees with the *snake-like* appearance of the hair in Tab. xxxiv. N°. 1. *Secondly*, From the remarkable inclination of the head to one side. The reverse bears, moreover, the inscription of his name, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Ibid. Tab. xxxv. N°. 2.

18. Three bronze medals of *Cassander*; all exhibiting the portrait of Alexander, with the lion's skin, strongly expressed. *Ibid.* Tab. xxxv. N°s. 3, 4, and 7.

19. A silver medal of *Alexander* (not the son of *Cassander*, as Goltzius, without any reason, seems to assert). It is exactly the same face which we have referred to so often, with this difference: The head is dressed *with* the skin of an elephant, as appears by the ears, tusks, and *proboscis* of that animal: the *proboscis* is brought to the top of the forehead, and then turned back over the crown of the head. It is on that account particularly interesting, as it shows it to have been struck during Alexander's Eastern expedition; no elephants having been seen in Europe prior to that event. For the same reason, Goltzius proves that it cannot belong to Alexander king of Epirus. If the features be compared with those on Alexander's medals, in Tab. xxxii. and xxxiii., they will be found exactly the same. Ibid. Tab. xxxvi. N°. 1.

20. Thirteen silver medals of *Lysimachus*, exhibiting the portrait of the deified Alexander, according to the example from which the engraving has been made for this work. Ibid. Tab. xxxvi. from N°. 7 to N°. 12., and Tab. xxxvii. from N°. 1 to N°. 7. inclusive.

21. A silver medal of ditto, showing the portrait of Alexander *with the lion's* skin, which has equal pretension to be the head of Lysimachus, with that which bears the horn. Yet both one and the other have been proved to exist on medals of Alexander. Ibid. Tab. xxxvii. N°. 9.

22. A silver medal of *Ptolemy Ceraunus*. Here the same head occurs with the lion's skin and from the passages of Goltzius already cited, it has been

shown that author does himself allow it to be the portrait of Alexander the Great. Ibid. Tab. xxxvii. N°. 10.

23. A silver medal of *Antipater*, with the same head. Ibid. Tab. xxxviii. N°. 2.
24. A silver medal of *Sosthenes*, with the same head finely expressed. Ibid. Tab. xxxviii. N°. 3.
25. Two silver medals of *Antigonus Gonatus*. Head of Alexander with the diadem. Tab xxxviii. N°s. 5 and 6.

GRECIAN ISLES
which expressed the Portrait of Alexander on their Medals.

26. *Corcyra*, a bronze medal. Ibid. Tab. i. N°. 4.
27. *Cos*; four medals of silver, and one of bronze? the last of which shows the face of Alexander in front, which is very uncommon. Ibid. Tab. xxi. N°s. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6.
28. *Carpathus*, a bronze medal. Ibid. Tab. xxiii. N°. 3.

ASIA.

29. *Galatia*, a bronze medal. Ibid. Tab. ii. and iii. N°. 1.
30. *Prusa*, ditto. Ibid. Tab. v. N°. 10.

SICILY, AND MAGNA GRAECIA.

31. *Syracuse*, bronze. Tom. IV. Tab. iv. N°. 1.
32. *Messana*, bronze. Ibid. Tab. vi. N°. 9.
33. *Bruttia*, bronze. Ibid. Tab. xxiii. N°. 7.
34. *Brundisium*, bronze. Ibid. Tab. xxxiii. N°. 7.

If, in some of these instances, a slight difference should appear in the representation of the features, let it be remarked, that they were the works of different artists. Yet the resemblance is so striking, that the utmost attention seems to have been paid to it. They appear all to have been taken from one original. In viewing the representations of Alexander's Portrait, it is truly wonderful that medals struck in Asia so exactly correspond with others struck in the most western colonies of Greece, that they would seem the result of the same coinage, if it were not for the difference of their inscriptions, and the various subjects expressed on their reverses. In all of them, to repeat the beautiful observation of APULEIUS, "*idem vigor acerrimi bellatoris, idem ingenium maximi honoris, eadem forma viridis juventæ, eadem gratia relicinæ frontis, cerneretur.*"

P. 28. l. 18. "*Which, being converted into an hospital.*"] The name of the ship was *La Cause*. It was of 64 guns, and, in the division of the prizes, was allotted to the Capoudan Pacha.

P. 46. Note (r). "*They contained with the deceased, his armour and weapons; also vessels,* &c.] By referring to society in a savage state, we frequently discover

customs which were practised among the antients. The Chippeway savages in Western Canada have a similar mode of interment. "Having been a famous warrior, he was buried with the usual honours peculiar to the savages; viz. *a scalping-knife, tomahawk, beads, paint, &c. some pieces of wood to make a fire, and a bark cup to drink out of, in his journey to the other country.*" See Long's Voyages and Travels, p. 49.

Ibid. Note (s). Wherever mounds of this kind were used to mark distances, they may be distinguished from tombs; first, by being smaller; and secondly, by appearing in pairs; there being in that case one on either side the antient paved roads. They may be observed in all the route from Constantinople to Salonichi. The wildest savages in Southern Africa, of the tribe called *Bosjesmans*, raise heaps over the dead. "*It is customary with them to inter the dead, and, like the Hottentots, to cover the graves with piles of stones. Some of these were so large, and on grassy plains where not a stone was naturally to be found, that the amassing of them together must have occasioned a very considerable degree of labour.*" Barrow's Travels, p. 280. Thus we find, that from one extremity of the globe to the other, the practice of heaping mounds, as *tumuli*, either has prevailed, or may still be observed.

P. 47. l. 1. "*This mode of interment belonged to persons of the highest rank.*"] The tomb of Agamemnon, at Mycenæ near Argos, is beneath an immense conical mound of earth. The slab of Egyptian granite, over the entrance of it, is the largest, perhaps, in the world, if we except the pillar and obelisks at Alexandria, and elsewhere. Characters, resembling the hieroglyphic writing, have lately been discovered there. See Gell's Topography of Troy, p. 122.

P. 53. l. 18. "*That nothing but the length of the description prevents its insertion.*"] Since the former part of this work was printed, it has been suggested by a friend, that the whole account given by Diodorus of Alexander's Funeral would be gratifying to many readers. I have therefore given it *verbatim*, accompanied by the Latin Translation, from the Wetstein edition, printed at Amsterdam, in the year 1745.

ΑΡΡΙΔΑΙΟΣ, ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν κατακομιδὴν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σώματος, συντετελεκὼς τὴν ἁρμάμαξαν, ἐφ' ἧς ἔδει κατακομισθῆναι τὸ βασιλικὸν σῶμα, παρεσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν κομιδήν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἔργον, ἀξιόλογον ὑπάρχον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν δαπάνην διήνεγκε τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν τελάντων κατασκευασθὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην περιττότητι περιβόητον ὑπῆρξε· καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀναγράψαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τῷ σώματι κατεσκευάσθη χρυσοῦν σφυρήλατον ἁρμόζον, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀνὰ μέσον ἐπλήρωσαν ἀρωμάτων τῶν ἅμα δυναμένων τὴν εὐωδίαν καὶ τὴν διαμονὴν παρέχεσθαι τῷ σώματι. Ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς θήκης ἐπετίθετο καλυπτὴς χρυσοῦς, ἁρμόζων ἀκριβῶς· καὶ περιλαμβάνων τὴν ἀνωτάτω περιφέρειαν. Ταύτης δ' ἐπάνω περιέκειτο φοινικὶς

διαπρεπὴς χρυσοποίκιλτος, παρ' ἣν ἴθεσαν τὰ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος ὅπλα, βουλόμενοι συνοικειοῦν τὴν ὅλην φαντασίαν ταῖς προκατειργασμέναις πράξεσι. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρίστησαν τὴν τοῦτο κομιοῦσαν ἁρμάμαξαν, ἧς κατισκεύαστο κατὰ μὲν τὴν κορυφὴν καμάρα χρυσῆ, ἔχουσα φολίδα λιθοκόλλητον, ἧς ἦν τὸ μὲν πλάτος ὀκτὼ πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ μῆκος δώδεκα. Ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ὑπωροφίαν παρ' ὅλον τὸ ἔργον θρόνος χρυσοῦς, τῷ σχήματι τετράγωνος, ἔχων τραγελάφων προτομὰς ἐκτύπους, ἐξ ὧν ἤρτηντο κρίνοι χρυσοῖ διπάλαιστοι, δι' ὧν κατακεκρέμαστο στέμμα πομπικὸν, χρώμασι ποικιλτοῖς διαπρεπῶς κατηθισμένον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄκρων ὑπῆρχε θύσανος δικτυωτὸς, ἔχων ἐυμεγέθεις κώδωνας, ὥστε ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος προσπίπτειν τὸν ψόφον τοῖς ἐγγίζουσι. Κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῆς καμάρας γωνίας ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἦν πλευρᾶς Νίκη χρυσῆ τροπαιοφόρος· τὸ δ' ἐκδεχόμενον τὴν καμάραν περίστυλον χρυσοῦν ὑπῆρχεν, ἔχον Ἰωνικὰ κιονόκρανα. Ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ περιστύλου δίκτυον ἦν χρυσοῦν, τὸ πάχος τῇ πλοκῇ δακτυλιαῖον, καὶ πίνακας παραλλήλους ζωοφόρους τέτταρας ἴσους τοῖς τοίχοις ἔχον.

Τούτων δ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἦν ἔχων ἅρμα τορευτὸν, καὶ καθήμενον ἐπὶ τούτου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα σκῆπτρον διαπρεπές· περὶ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα μία μὲν ὑπῆρχε θεραπεία καθωπλισμένη Μακεδόνων, ἄλλη δὲ Περσῶν μηλοφόρων, καὶ πρὸ τούτων ὁπλοφόροι· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος εἶχε τοὺς ἑπακολουθοῦντας τῇ θεραπείᾳ ἐλέφαντας κεκοσμημένους πολεμικῶς, ἀναβάτας ἔχοντας ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν Ἰνδοὺς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὄπισθεν Μακεδόνας, καθωπλισμένους τῇ συνήθει σκευῇ. Ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἱππέων ἴλας, μιμουμένας τὰς ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι συναγωγάς· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ναῦς κεκοσμημένας, πρὸς ναυμαχίαν. Καὶ παρὰ μὲν τὴν εἰς καμάραν εἴσοδον ὑπῆρχον λέοντες χρυσοῖ, δεδορκότες πρὸς τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους. Ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ ἑκάστου τῶν κιόνων ὑπῆρχε χρυσοῦς ἄκανθος, ἀνατείνων ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον μέχρι τῶν κιονοκράνων. Ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς καμάρας κατὰ μέσην τὴν κορυφὴν, φοινικὶς ὑπῆρχεν ὑπαίθριος, ἔχουσα χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐλαίας ἐυμεγέθη, πρὸς ὃν ὁ ἥλιος προσβάλλων τὰς ἀκτῖνας, κατεσκεύαζε τὴν αὐγὴν ἀποστίλβουσαν καὶ σειομένην, ὥστ' ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ὁρᾶσθαι τὴν πρόσοψιν ἀστραπῇ παραπλησίαν. Ἡ δ' ὑπὸ τὴν καμάραν καθέδρα δύο εἶχεν ἄξονας, οὗπερ ἐδίνευον τροχοὶ Περσικοὶ τέτταρες, ὧν ὑπῆρχε τὰ μὲν πλάγια καὶ αἱ κνημῖδες κατακεχρυσωμέναι, τὸ δὲ προσπίπτον τοῖς ἐδάφεσι μέρος, σιδηροῦν. Τῶν δ' ἀξόνων τὰ προέχοντα χρυσᾶ κατεσκεύαστο, πτερομὰς ἔχοντα λεόντων σιβύνην ὀδὸν κατεχούσας. Κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸ μῆκος εἶχον πόλον ἐνηρμοσμένον μηχανικῶς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ καμάρᾳ, ὥστε δύνασθαι διὰ τούτου τὴν καμάραν ἀσάλευτον εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς σεισμοὺς καὶ ἀνωμάλους τόπους. Τεττίρων δ' ὄντων ῥυμῶν, ἑκάστῳ τετραστοιχία ζευγῶν ὑπέζευκτο, τεττάρων ἡμιόνων ἑκάστῳ ζεύγει προσδεδεμένων, ὥστε τοὺς ἅπαντας ἡμιόνους εἶναι ἑξήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας, ἐπιλελεγμένους ταῖς τε ῥώμαις καὶ τοῖς ἀναστήμασιν. Ἕκαστος δὲ τούτων ἐστεφώνωτο κεχρυσωμένῳ στεφάνῳ, καὶ παρ' ἑκατέραν τῶν σιαγόνων εἶχεν ἐξηρτημένον κώδωνα χρυσοῦν, περὶ δὲ τοὺς τραχήλους χλιδῶνας λιθοκολλήτους.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἁρμάμαξα, τοιαύτην ἔχουσα τὴν κατασκευὴν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁράσεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας φαινομένη μεγαλοπρεπεστέρα πολλοὺς ἐπεσπᾶτο θεωροὺς διὰ τὴν περιβόητον δόξαν. Οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καθ' ἃς αἱ γένοιτο πανδημεὶ συνήντων, καὶ πάλιν προέπεμπον, οὐκ ἐμπιμπλάμενοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν τέρψεως. Ἀκολούθως δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ

μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ, παρηκολούθει πλῆθος ὀδοποιῶν καὶ τεχνιτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραπεμπόντων. Ἀρρίδαιος μὲν οὖν σχεδὸν ἔτη δύο ἀναλώσας περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἔργων, ἀπεκόμισε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τιμῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπήντησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως μέχρι τῆς Συρίας, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὸ σῶμα, τῆς μεγίστης φροντίδος ἠξίωσεν. Ἔκρινε γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰς μὲν Ἄμμωνα μὴ παρακομίζειν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκτισμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπιφανεστάτην οὖσαν σχεδόν τι τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀποθέσθαι. Κατεσκεύασεν οὖν τέμενος κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης ἄξιον, ἐν ᾧ κηδεύσας αὐτὸν, καὶ θυσίαις ἡρωϊκαῖς καὶ ἀγῶσι μεγαλοπρεπέσι τιμήσας, οὐ παρ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἔλαβεν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι, διὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐχάριστον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον, συνέτρεχον πάντοθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ προθύμους ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν στρατείαν παρείχοντο, καίπερ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως μελλούσης πολεμεῖν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον· καὶ κινδύνων προδήλων καὶ μεγάλων ὄντων, ὅμως ἅπαντες τὴν τούτου σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις ἑκουσίως περιεποιήσαντο. Οἱ δὲ θεοὶ, διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς φίλους ἐπιείκειαν, ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων παραδόξως αὐτὸν διέσωσαν.

" Arrhidæus, corporis Alexandri deportationi præfectus, curru, quo regium cadaver transvehendum erat, jam perfecto, ad translationem ejus se præparabat. Quia vero ita opus illud concinnatum erat, ut Alexandri majestate dignum foit, nec solum magnificentia impensarum (multis enim talentis constabat) alia longe superavit, verum artificii quoque excellentia celeberrimum fuit, aliquid de eo literis commendare honestum judicamus. Principio autem cadaveri loculus mallei ductura ita fabricatus erat, ut probe quadraret, quem usque ad medium aromatis, quæ et fragrantiam et durationem cadaveri præberent, referserant. Supra capulum, aureum erat tegmen exacte adaptatum, quod summum circumquaque ambitum complecteretur. Supra hoc circumjecta erat chlamys punicea perquam decora, et auro variegata, juxta quam arma defuncti posuerant, eo consilio, ut speciem illam totam rebus ab eo gestis accommodarent. Tum pilentum, quo funus transvehendum erat, admoverunt; in cujus vertice aureus fornix, squamam habens e lapillis nobilibus coagmentatum, octo cubitûm latitudine et longitudine duodecim exstructus erat. Huic fastigio subjectum erat solium ex auro, figura quadratum: in quo tragelaphorum capita expressa, iisque aurei binorum palmorum circuli annexi: unde corollæ ad pompam concinnatæ, variis cŏloribus pulcherrime, tanquam flores, renidebant. In summo fimbria exstabat reticularis, tintinabula eximiæ magnitudinis continens, ut ex longiore intervallo sonus ad propinquantium aures perferretur. Ad angulos testudinis fornicatæ, in singulis lateribus Victoria stabat tropæum gestans: peristylium, quod fornicem excipiebat, ex auro conflatum Ionica capitella habebat. Intra quod aureum rete crassitudine contextus digitali, tabulas ex ordine quatuor signiferas, et parietibus æquales, præferebat.

" In prima erat currus cœlo elaboratus, et residens in hoc Alexander, sceptrumque manu decorum tenens. Circa regem satellitium erat armis instructum, hinc Macedonum, inde Persarum Melofororum: et ante hos armigeri. In secunda,

stipatores sequebantur elephantes, bellico ritu exornati; qui in fronte Indos, in tergo Macedones, armis consuetis indutos, vehebant. In tertia, visebantur equitum turmæ, qui conglomerationes acierum imitarentur. In quarta, naves ad pugnam expeditæ stabant. Ad testudinis ingressum aurei leones ad intrantes respectabant. Medium columnæ uniuscujusque aureus obtinebat acanthus, paulatim ad capitella se usque extendens. Supra cameram, circa verticis medium, aureus erat tapes subdialis, auream olæ coronam habens magnitudinis eximiæ: quam sol radiis suis verberans, fulgidum tremulumque efficiebat splendorem, ut fulguris ex intervallo speciem exhiberet. Sellæ testudini subjectæ axes duo suberant, quos circum volvebantur Persicæ rotæ quatuor: quarum modioli radiique inaurati erant. Pars autem terram allapsu contingens, ferrea. Extrema axium prominentia constabant ex auro, leonumque facies hastam mordicus tenentes præferebant. Circa mediam vero longitudinem, in medio fornice mechanica arte Polus (cardo) adaptatus erat, ut per hunc testudo in successionibus, et iniquitate locorum sine jactatione esse posset. Quatuor temones cum essent, unicuique ordo jugorum quadruplex adjunctus erat, quaternis mulis jugo alligatis, ita ut omnium mulorum numerus esset sexaginta et quatuor robore ac proceritate corporis selectissimorum. Quisque horum corona deaurata redimitus erat, et utrique maxillæ tintinabula ex auro, et monilia gemmis constipata, collis appensa erant.

"Hujusmodi apparatum currus habebat. Qui aspectu quam descriptione magnificentior, celebritate ubique pervulgata multos attrahebat spectatores. Nam populus ex urbibus, ad quas identidem perventum esset, catervatim occurrit, et rursum funus deducens spectandi voluptate exsaturari non potuit. Utque consentaneum erat tantæ magnificentiæ, ingens opificum et aliorum, qui vias aperirent, et pompam deducerent, multitudo comitabatur. Atque sic Arrhidæus biennio in operis structura consumto, corpus regis e Babylone in Aegyptum deportavit. Ubi Ptolemæus in honorem regis, cum exercitu ad Syriam usque obviam processit, et acceptum corpus maxima cura prosecutus est. Illud enim in præsenti ad Hammonem non transvehere, sed in condita ab illo urbe, omnium fere per totum orbem clarissima, deponere secum constituerat. Quapropter delubrum, cum magnitudine, tum structura, majestate et gloria Alexandri dignum, illi fecit: in quo exsequiarum justis et sacrificiis heroicis, ludisque magnificentissimis sepultum veneratus, non ab hominibus tantum, sed Diis etiam remunerationem præclaram accepit. Homines enim liberalitate ac animi magnitudine Ptolemæi invitati, undique Alexandriam confluebant, magnaque animorum alacritate nomina sua ad militiam (cum tamen regius Ptolemæo exercitus bellum inferret) profitebantur. Et licet magna jam pericula manifeste imminerent: suo tamen discrimine omnes efficiebant promte, ut salus ejus integra maneret. Dii vero, propter virtutem et æquitatem erga omnes, maximis ereptum periculis conservarunt."

*Tom.* II. *lib.* xviii. *pp.* 277, *&c.*

P. 54. Note (s). I confess myself entirely at a loss to account for the origin of those wonderful catacombs, unless they were constructed, as they may have

been, by the primitive Christians; having seen similar works, upon a scale of equal and perhaps greater magnificence, at Jerusalem and various parts of the Holy Land, in Asia Minor, in the Crimea, and other countries, which have not yet been described by any traveller. Those near Alexandria may be considered as one of the principal curiosities of the city; and hitherto they have remained entirely unnoticed. They consist of spacious and beautiful subterranean chambers, some of which appear to have been the habitations of the living, and others, the repositories of the dead. They are so extensive, that the guide who conducted me would not venture, without a clue of twine, to direct our return; and without it, a retreat might be very difficult. The entrance to those intricate vaults is by an aperture hardly large enough to force the body through, which seems to have been discovered accidentally, and not to have been the original passage. In the part which seemed more particularly appropriated to the dead, is a kind of chapel, surmounted by a dome, simply but beautifully ornamented. For all further information we must wait anxiously the account, which the French, it is to be hoped, will one day give. They have correct plans and drawings of the whole. I saw copies of them in the possession of the French Consul, during my stay in Alexandria.

Such seem to have been the retreats of the first Christians, when compelled to perform the duties of their religion in secrecy; and in such places, perhaps, were the sepulchres of the Saints, of the Martyrs, and the Fathers of the Church. We find that all the early churches were constructed after the manner of caves, in imitation of the holy places in which the first functions of Christianity were celebrated. Those rites were, from necessity, performed by the light of torches and lamps; in commemoration of which, the practice of burning lights before images, and upon altars, still exists in the Greek and Roman Churches. The first buildings erected after Christianity was tolerated, strictly conform to the character of the primitive caves. The entrance is by a steep descent into an oblong and dark building, at the extremity of which is the altar. A church of this description, exactly resembling a cave, may be still seen at Tiberias, on the Sea of Galilee; and one of the principal defects in the magnificent edifice of St. Sophia at Constantinople is, that the entrance into it is by a mean descent.

The Alexandrian catacombs might be confounded with the sepulchres of the Ptolemies, if no attention be paid to the evidence of history. The words of Suetonius, when speaking of the *Conditorium* and the body of Alexander, "*prolatum è penetrali*," might assist the delusion; and there were not wanted persons who, in their impatience to give them a name, had adopted such a notion. But, setting aside the probability of their being the works of Christians, from their exact correspondence with the other excavations I have mentioned, the opinion implies a situation directly contrary to that which is ascribed to the *Soma* by Strabo: ΜΕΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΩΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΣΩΜΑ. And Leo *Africanus*, who saw the Tomb of Alexander, describes it within the chapel where

it was found, surrounded by the ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΣ mentioned by that author: whereas the catacombs are at a very considerable distance from the city, to the westward, in a desert place on the shore towards *Marabout*.

P. 61. l. 18. "*And dignified by memorials of its former greatness.*"] The following extract, from the Remarks of General Regnier, will prove that the Mosque of St. Athanasius was once a Pagan temple. Pillars of porphyry, or granite, have never been the work of Christians or Mahometans. "Over against this glorious relic of antient architecture stands one of the finest churches in Egypt, formerly dedicated to St. Athanasius, now a Turkish mosque. Of the inside of this we know nothing more than can be perceived through certain openings over the gates: hence we are enabled to say, that the roof of it is supported by FOUR ROWS OF PORPHYRY PILLARS, as fair and beautiful as can be imagined."

P. 75. l. 1 and 2. At the invasion of the Saracens, or Arabs, the places which had borne the name of Alexander, or related to it, retained their original signification. *Alexandria* was called *Iscanderia*, and *Alexandretta* became *Iscanderoon*. His Tomb, therefore, would be called the Tomb of *Iscander*; as it has acctually been.

P. 85. *Omitted.*] The testimony of Niebuhr has reference only to the building; which he describes from its external appearance, not being able to enter the mosque. It might have been inserted before the extract from Bruce, as one of the many proofs of the remains of Pagan magnificence that were found there. He arrived in Alexandria on the twenty-sixth of September 1761.

"The finest building in the city is a mosque, which in the time of the Greek Empire *was a church dedicated to St. Athanasius*. It is very large, and ornamented with noble columns. A great number of Greek manuscripts are still said to be preserved within it. *But as no Christian dare examine any thing within a mosque, I saw only its outside.*" See Travels in Arabia, and other Countries in the East.

P. 93. l. 21. I have written it *Dolomieux*, instead of *Dolomieu*, upon the authority of Denon.

# APPENDIX.

deficiencies, which, being unable to supply, he has noticed by a rubrick in the same hand-writing.

No name is annexed to this performance; but it is probable the authors of the Universal History allude to the same work in their Note on the Historians of Alexander. "There is still," say they[a], "a manuscript history, in Latin, which goes under the name of *Valerius*, stuffed with these romantic accounts; and for that reason never printed." Some of the earliest historians of Alexander's Life, and of those who were his companions, filled their writings with fictions in relating his achievements. *Onesicritus*, the captain of his galley, wrote a work of this kind, which is mentioned in the Note referred to; and Alexander, having himself read it, said "he should like to come to life again, to see what reception that book met with." Its author, according to Plutarch, read part of it to Lysimachus, which contained an account of Alexander's War with the Amazons: "And where, I pray, was I," said the king, "when all these strange things happened?"

The Vienna Manuscript contains many such romantic accounts: but as they were found in authors at so early a period as that of the historians who lived with Alexander, it might have been derived from a more antient source than the style of the Latin would lead its readers

[a] Universal Hist. Vol. I. p. 413. Note (P). edit. fol.

to believe. Yet there is one strong argument against its Grecian origin; and that is, the mention made in it of demons, which were not known to the antient mythology of that country. Either, therefore, the translator mixed such machinery with the narrative, or the whole was taken from some Oriental historian.

Divested of its extravagant and improbable stories, the Manuscript, when it relates facts confirmed by the testimony of more authentic writers, is entitled to attention; because, by the different manner in which the same fact is related, we become more fully acquainted with the nature of it. Thus, from the account given by Diodorus, there was reason to suppose the body of Alexander, when placed in the funeral car to be conveyed from Babylon to Alexandria, was not inclosed in a coffin, but covered with his armour, and decorated with all the splendor and insignia of royalty, to be exhibited in the procession as nearly as possible in the state in which he lived. The coffin of the antients was the tomb to which the body was carried. There is no instance of that kind of receptacle, to which we apply the word *coffin*, being carried with the body to a sepulchre. The example referred to by the Author in a former part of this Work, taken from the account in Sacred History of the burial of Joseph, shows clearly that the act of putting him into a coffin implied his burial, and was the last part of the funeral ceremony. It is now the practice at Naples, and

in many other parts of Europe, where antient customs are still preserved, to dress the bodies of dead persons in all the splendor they can afford, and to carry them, thus exposed, on a bier to their grave.

*" They bore him bare faced on his bier,"*

is a common burthen of our old ballads. With respect to Alexander, the Manuscript is on this subject remarkably explicit, and therefore adds additional weight to what has been before said against the existence of a gold or a glass coffin. *" When, therefore, Alexander was dead, his princes raised the body, and clothed it in regal vestments, putting a crown upon its head; and they placed it in a car, conveying it from Babylon to Alexandria."*

To give this extract *verbatim* from the Manuscript, it has been deemed necessary to insert even the errors of the original.

## Ex Alexandri Magni Historia. Vet. MS.

' Indeque, amoto exercitu, venit in Babiloniam, civitatem magnam, et stetit ibi usque ad diem mortis suæ. Statimque scripsit epistolam Olimpiadi matri suæ, et Aristoteli præceptori suo, de præliis quæ fecit cum Poro rege, et angustiis, hiemalibus et æstivis, quas passus est in Indiâ. Aristoteles denique rescripsit epistolam, tali modo. . . .'

Then follows Aristotle's answer, and an account of the omens preceding Alexander's death, which the author relates to have been effected by poison; a story not credited by Plutarch, and invented, according to him, some years after, when Olympias wished to render the family of Antipater odious. The learned Author of the Voyage of Nearchus has alluded to this circumstance, and shown very satisfactorily, from the diary which records the progress of his disease, that his death was occasioned by the gradual course of a fever[b]. Alexander then dictates his Will; which is succeeded by the events that took place at the time of his death; the manner of his burial; a description of his person; his age; &c. and a list of the cities he built. The whole concludes with the moral reflections of the author.

' " Præcipimus tibi, Aristoteles, magister carissime, ut de thesauro nostro regali mandes sacerdotibus Aegypti, qui serviunt in templo in quo conditurum est corpus meum, talenta auri mille. Quia in vitâ meâ cogitavi quis recturus sit vos post meam mortem, custos corporis mei et gubernator vestri Tholomeus erit. Non sit oblivioni Testamentum meum. Iterum dico atque dispono vobis quod si Rosanna uxor mea genuerit filium, ejus filius sit Imperator, et imponite illi nomen quale volueritis;

[b] Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus, p. 476.

et si fœmina fuerit, eligant sibi Macedones qualem regem voluerint. Rosanna uxor mea sit domina super omnes facultates meas. Arideus, filius Philippi patris mei, in Peloponnenses. Nicote sint liberi, et eligant sibi seniorem qualem voluerint. Simeon notarius meus sit dominus et princeps Cappadociæ et Paphlagoniæ: Lyciæ et Pamphiliæ sit princeps Antigonus: Cassander et Iolus teneant usque ad fluvium qui dicitur Sol: Antipater, genitor eorum, sit princeps Ciliciæ: Syriam magnam Plutonus teneat: Helex-Ponthum Lisimacus; Seleucus autem Nicanor Babiloniam obtineat; Fenicem et Siriam Meneagrus; Tholomeus Lagi Egyptum; et detur ei uxor Cleopatra, quam nupsit pater meus Philippus; et sit princeps super omnes Satrapas Orientis, usque Bactram."

'Cum autem hoc Testamentum scribebatur ante Alexandrum, tunc subitò facta sunt tonitrua et fulgura horribilia, et contremuit tota Babilonia; et tunc divulgata est per totam Babiloniam mors Alexandri. Statimque erexerunt se cuncti Macedones cum armis, et venerunt in aulam palatii; cœperuntque vociferare ad principes, dicentes, "Scitote, quod si non ostenditis nobis Imperatorem nostrum in hâc horâ, omnes moriemini." Audiens autem Alexander vociferationes militum, interrogavit quid hoc esset: principes autem ejus responderunt ei, dicentes, "Congregati sunt omnes Macedones, et dicunt, Si non ostenditis nobis Imperatorem nostrum in hâc horâ, interficiemus vos omnes." Cum ergo audîsset Alexander hoc, præcepit

militibus suis ut elevarent eum in triclinio palatii, et post hoc jussit aperiri portas triclinii, et præcepit ut ingrederentur ante eum omnes Macedones, quod erat factum. Tunc cœpit Alexander eos monere, ut pacifici essent inter se. Macedones, autem, cum lacrimis clamaverunt ad eum, dicentes, "Maxime Imperator, volumus scire quis erit nos recturus post tuam mortem." Quibus Alexander respondit, "Viri commilitones Macedones, ille sit vobis rex post meam mortem quem vos vultis." At illi omnes, unâ voce, petierunt Perdiccam proconsulem. Tunc, jussu Alexandri, venit Perdicca ; et dedit ei regnum Macedonicum.

* * * *

Deinde cœpit omnes Macedones osculari, et suspirans flevit amarè: dolor ingens ac ploratus magnus erat in eodem loco, quasi tonitruum. Credo, equidem, quod non solùm homines ploravcrunt ibi, sed etiam pro tam magno Imperatore Sol contristatus est, et reversus est in eclipsin. Quidam homo ex Macedoniâ, cui nomen Seleucus, stabat prope lectum Alexandri, et cum gemitu ac ploratu magno dicebat, "Maxime Imperator, Philippus genitor tuus bene gubernabat nos, et regnum nostrum; sed largitatem et bonitatem tuam, quàm in ore et opere habuisti, quis æstimare poterit?" Tunc crexit se Alexander in stratu suo, et dedit ei alapam. Tunc ille cœpit flere, et dicere, "Ah, heu me miserum! heu me infelicem! Alexander moritur, et Macedonia minuetur!" Tunc omnes Macedones cœperunt unâ voce flere, et dicere, "Melius fuerat

omnibus nobis mori tecum, quam tuam mortem videre; quoniam scimus quod post tuam mortem regnum Macedonicum non stabit. Væ nobis miseris! Ubi nos dimittis, Domine Alexander, et solus pergis a tuis Macedonibus?" Alexander verò, plorans sæpius, suspirando dicebat, "O Macedones, amodò nomen vestrum super Barbaras non dominabitur!" Tunc direxit "Athenas, in templum Apollinis, proponam aureum indumentum trabis, seu auream sedem." Similiter direxit omnibus templis; et præcepit afferri Meldinosiam terram, et mirram terræ crodociæ, ut post mortem aliquis ex hoc ungeret corpus ejus, quia hæ duæ res observant corpus incorruptum. Deinde præcepit fratri suo, qui vocabatur Arideus, ut det centum talenta auri ad sepulchrum quod est in Alexandriâ pro ejus corpore. Cum autem obiisset Alexander, principes ejus levaverunt corpus, et induerunt illud vestimentis regalibus, ponentes coronam capiti ejus; posueruntque in curru, portantes illud a Babiloniâ usque ad Alexandriam.

'Tholomeus autem pergebat cum curru ejus, clarâ voce plorando, et dicendo, "Heu me, Alexander, vir fortissime! Non ostendisti in vitâ tuâ quantus occidit post mortem tuam." Principes et milites ejus sequuti sunt cum usque ad Alexandriam, in quâ sepultus est.

'Fuit autem Alexander staturæ mediocris, cum cervice longâ; lætis oculis, illustribus malis, ad gaudium rubescentibus: reliquis membris corporis non sine quâdam majestate decoris: victor omnium; sed a vanâ carne victus.

'Fuerunt anni vitæ illius XXXIII. A decimo-octavo anno nativitatis susccpit committere bellum; et VII annis pugnavit acriter. Octo annis viguit cum lætitiâ et jocunditate: subjugavit autem gentem Barbarorum XXVII anno. Natus est VI Kal. Januarii; obiit IV Kal. Aprilis. Fabricavit civitates XII, quæ hactenus habitantur: prima, Alexandria quæ dicitur Prosiritas; secunda, Alexandria Jepinporos; tertia, Jepibukephalon; quarta, Reeratisti; quinta, Jaranicon; sexta, Scithia; septima, sub fluvio Tigris; octava, Babilonia; nona, Ampeiadiada; decima, Masantengas; undecima, Prosantrion; duodecima, Egyptus.

* * * *

'Totus non sufficiebat ei mundus: hodiè quatuor sufficiunt ulnæ. Populis imperavit; hodiè populus imperat illi. Multos potuit a morte liberare, hodiè nec potuit ejus jaculâ devitare. Ducebat exercitus, hodiè sepultus ducitur. Gentes quem timebant hodiè, omnes vilem deputant. Amicos et inimicos hodiè habuit equales.'

# APPENDIX.

## N° II.

It may not be improper to state, that the Dissertation on the Alexandrian Sarcophagus had been handed about in manuscript a year before it was printed; in consequence of which some objections to the opinions entertained in it were publicly circulated. These gave occasion to the following Remarks, which the very learned Author of them has permitted to be laid before the Public.

DEAR SIR,

My communication on the subject of your Work I leave at your disposal.

Many of the Testimonies cited by yourself will be seen to recur; but, being here considered in different points of view, they will not be looked upon as mere repetitions.

With regard to the other Testimonies which are now first adduced, they, I trust, will be deemed not unworthy of notice.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

&c. &c.

*August* 15, 1804. SAMUEL HENLEY.

# REMARKS

CONCERNING

## THE ALEXANDRIAN SARCOPHAGUS.

THE deification of Alexander, according to Lucian, or, in other words, his association with the Egyptian Gods, is confirmed by Diodorus. Whoever admits the account of the former, that Ptolemy transferred to Egypt the body of Alexander, there to enshrine him as one of its Gods[a]; can have no doubt but the sacrifices and games, mentioned by the latter, were rites essential to the deification. From him we learn, that Aridæus, to whose direction the funeral was consigned, after almost two years spent in preparations, set out with the body from Babylon for Egypt; also, that Ptolemy, in veneration for Alexander, came up as far as Syria with an army to meet him, where, taking charge of his trust, he honoured the corpse with all possible reverence; and after having erected a shrine both for its extent and grandeur worthy of the glory of Alexander, buried him in

[a] See p. 49. The words of Lucian are these: Ὑπισχνεῖται δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς, ἤν ποτε ἀγάγῃ σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θορύβων τῶν ἐν ποσὶν, ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπαγαγών ΜΕ ΘΑΨΕΙΝ ΕΚΕΙ, ΩΣ ΓΕΝΟΙΜΗΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ. Dial. Mort. Tom. I. p. 392.

it, with all the splendor of heroic games and magnificent sacrifices; so that he received not from men only, but from the Gods, a glorious reward [b].

Nor was it in Egypt alone that such honours were paid him; for besides the games in Macedonia and different countries commemorated on coins, others are mentioned in Strabo, called Alexandrian, and observed by the community of Ionians; as well as a grove on the confine of Clazomenæ, consecrated to him; whilst Ammianus and Orosius instance altars and terms. At Arcena, also, a city of Syria, was a temple erected to Alexander the Great, and a feast-day kept to his honour [c].

As the Egyptians are recorded by Herodotus [d], to have been the first who raised altars, statues, and temples to their gods, and sculptured animals or hieroglyphics on stone; so they determined the number of their divinities to be twelve;

[b] Ἀρρίδαῖος μὲν οὖν σχεδὸν ἔτη δύο ἀναλώσας περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἔργων, ἀπεκόμισε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Αἴγυπτον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τιμῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπήντησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως μέχρι τῆς Συρίας, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὸ σῶμα, τῆς μεγίστης φροντίδος ἠξίωσεν.—Κατεσκεύασεν οὖν ΤΕΜΕΝΟΣ κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΗΝ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης ἄξιον, ἐν ᾧ κηδεύσας αὐτὸν, καὶ ΘΥΣΙΑΙΣ ΗΡΩΙΚΑΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΩΣΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΡΕΠΕΣΙ ΤΙΜΗΣΑΣ, οὐ παρ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἔλαβεν. Tom. II. lib. xviii. c. 28. p. 279.

[c] Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῶν Κλαζομενίων Χαλκιδέων ΑΛΣΟΣ καθιερωμένον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Φιλίππου καὶ ΑΓΩΝ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἰώνων Ἀλεξάνδρεια καταγγέλλεται, συντελούμενος ἐνταῦθα. Lib. xiv. p. 953. — "ARÆ Alexandro Magno *sacratæ*." Ammian. Marcellin. lib. xxii. c. 8. "Qua Riphæi montes Sarmatico adversi Oceano Tanaïm fundunt: qui præteriens *aras* ac *terminos* Alexandro Magno in Roxalanorum finibus sitos Mæoticos auget paludes." Oros. lib. i. c. 2. Lampid. in Vit. Alex. Sever. c. 5.

[d] Lib. ii. c. 4.

and Alexander, at his funeral, being ranked with them, was thence reckoned the thirteenth. Thus Clemens of Alexandria speaks of the Egyptians as having had the temerity to deify men from the instance of Alexander the Macedonian, whom, though manifestly dead at Babylon, they had inscribed their thirteenth god[e]: and Cyril of the same city instances as notorious, that Alexander, the son of Philip, was named by them their thirteenth divinity[f].

Alexander is not only styled by Herodian[g] a Hero, which was the known title of a deified man, but associated—as he was by Augustus[h], in quality of founder of Alexandria—with Serapis, the tutelary genius of that city; whom the Egyptians, devoted to superstitions, worshipped as their supreme divinity[i]. Hence the hecatomb offered to Serapis was attended with due honours to his associate. Caracalla going from the altar to Alexander's monument, there took off his insignia, and placed them on the coffin, which has been presumed, because Herodian says not otherwise, to have been, forsooth,

[e] Οἵδε γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ΑΠΟΘΕΟΥΝ τετολμήκασι, ΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἀναγράφοντες ΘΕΟΝ, ὃν Βαβυλῶν ἥλιγξε ΝΕΚΡΟΝ. Clemens Cohort. ad Gent. p. 77.

[f] Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Φιλίππου ΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ ἐδόκει ΘΕΟΝ ὀνομάζειν τοῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνο καίρου. Cyril. contra Julian. lib. vi. p. 205. Casaubon, in his notes on Suetonius, where mention is made of Julius Cæsar being referred to the number of the gods, after instancing the different phrases applied on such occasions by the Greeks, observes, that heroic honours were decreed at first to founders of cities, and those who had deserved well from the communities to which they belonged; till such persons came by degrees to be regarded as gods.

[g] Lib. iv. c. 15. [h] Dio, lib. li. c. 16.

[i] "Ex plebe Alexandrinâ quidam, oculorum tabe notus genua ejus advolvitur, remedium cæcitatis exposcens gemitu, monituque Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit." Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. 81.

of glass! But the difference between πύελος and σορὸς, if known, must have utterly precluded so groundless an opinion; whilst the ΑΙΘΙΝΑΣ σοροὺς of Plutarch, and the σοροὶ ΣΑΡΚΟΦΑΓΟΙ of Dioscorides, might have shewn that coffins were made of stone. Thus, σορὸς was the *stone-coffin* in which Alexander was enshrined, and πύελος the *shell* in which he was shrouded. The latter was formed of hammer-beaten gold[k]; and how exactly it exhibited the features beneath, may be seen from Abdollatiph, who relates[l], that "sometimes is found over the whole corpse a coating of gold, like a cortex or skin." He adds, that articles of gold, of dress, or of jewelry, were at times discovered with the deceased; or some sort of implement to denote their profession. In this

[k] ——τῷ σώματι κατασκευάσθη ΧΡΥΣΟΥΝ ΣΦΥΡΗΛΑΤΟΝ ΑΡΜΟΖΟΝ. Diodor. lib. xviii. c. 26.

[l] وربما وجد قشر من الذهب على جميع الميت كالغشا

P. 148.——Of this passage Dr. White presents two versions, in addition to his own: "—et quandoque reperitur *cortex aureus*, operiens totum mortuum ambiensque veluti *membrana*. [*Pococke.*]—Ja zuweilen bedeckt eine *solche duenne Rinde von Gold* den ganzen Leichnam, wie eine *Membrane*. [*Wahl.*] —interdum super toto corpore hominis defuncti inventum esse *corticem aureum*, instar *tegumenti*. [*White.*]" The term *hominis* refers to what immediately precedes: "quin etiam inventam esse lamellam auream, corticis instar, super αἰδοίῳ muliebri."

Bodinus, in his account of a mummy, notices, that its skin was overlaid with gold; and observes, that gold preserves dead bodies, as it keeps woods, metals, and other substances from corruption: "Cutem reperit inauratam, aurum enim cadavera, uti ligna quoque et metalla et alia a corruptione servat." Fabricii Bibliograph. Antiquar. p. 1028.

With this too agrees the description of Amycus, "whose flesh was firm as iron, and his skin like a *hammer-beaten* colossus." Theocrit. Idyl. xxii. v. 47.

Σαρκὶ σιδαρείῃ, ΣΦΥΡΗΛΑΤΟΣ οἷα κολοσσός.

manner was Cyrus buried; and had Arrian been consulted[m], it would thence have appeared that πύελος was not a tomb[n]. This, in two places, Suetonius will evince; the latter stating that the breast-plate of Alexander, which Caligula sometimes wore, was taken out of the conditory[o], and not from the shell; for in that the body only, with the perfumes which embalmed it, was inclosed; whilst, covered with the royal mantle[p], and adorned with jewels, his armour was

[m] Lib. vi. c. 29.

[n] Sandys speaks of Alexander's body as "inclosed in a sepulcher of gold:" an expression which, probably, suggested the mistake.

[o] Interdum et Magni Alexandri thoracem, repetitum e conditorio ejus. Calig. c. 52.

[p] See Diodorus, as cited in pp. 52, 53.

The loss of his *chlamys* and jewels (as is seen from Herodian) Caracalla supplied with his own. Those of Alexander, it seems, were worn by Pompey, in his triumph over Mithradates; he having sent the chlamys to Pontus from Cos, with the jewels and other treasures of Cleopatra, when he took thence her grandson, son of Alexander king of Egypt, whom, nevertheless, he brought up like one born to a throne. Μιθριδάτης δὲ ἐς μὲν Κῶ κατέπλευσε, Κώων αὐτὸν ἀσμένως δεχομένων· καὶ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδα τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου, σὺν χρήμασι πολλοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μάμμης Κλεοπάτρας ἐν Κῷ καταλελειμμένον, παραλαβὼν, ἔτρεφε βασιλικῶς· ἔκ τε τῶν Κλεοπάτρας θησαυρῶν γάζαν πολλὴν, καὶ τέχνην, καὶ λίθους, καὶ κόσμους γυναικείους, καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἔπεμψεν. Appian. de Bell. Mithridat. Tom. I. c. 23. p. 674.——Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Πομπήϊος ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἦν, καὶ τοῦδε ΛΙΘΟΚΟΛΛΗΤΟΥ, ΧΛΑΜΥΔΑ ἔχων, ὥς φασιν, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος, εἴ τῳ πιστόν ἐστιν· ἔοικε δ' αὐτὴν εὑρεῖν ἐν Μιθριδάτου, Κώων παρὰ Κλεοπάτρας λαβόντων. c. 117. p. 822. The Alexander king of Egypt, whom Appian mentions, was son of Alexander the First, and grandson of Physcon. Stemma Lagidarum in Hassi Phosphoro, p. 53. It is not unlikely that he was taken to Cos for the purpose of being there educated. Philadelphus, so renowned for his learning, was a native of that island; and Berosus, the great master of Chaldean science, who taught astronomy to the Greeks, resided in it; whence may be inferred, that it abounded with the best means of instruction.

As the chlamys of Alexander was worn by Pompey in his triumph, he probably placed it in the capitol with the jewels taken from Mithradates; whence, perhaps, Augustus possessed himself of Alexander's signet.

The name of Mithradates is here written in conformity with etymology, marbles,

placed at his side [q]. The other passage from Suetonius relates, that the conditory, as well as the corpse, was examined by Augustus [r].

From the mention by Herodotus of the twelve gods of Egypt (whom Leon, an Egyptian priest, taught Alexander to believe were but deified men [s]) in connexion with their temples and hieroglyphics on stones, who can doubt that the

and his coins; though the Latin writers (who, in Greek proper names, change α to ι) have brought Mithridates into inveterate use. Josephus and Porphyry, however, retain the true orthography.

[q] Dr. White, on the passage from Abdollatiph, refers to Thucydides, who relates of the Carians, that they also buried with the dead, τὴν σκευὴν τῶν ὅπλων, their armour. In Ezekiel, xxxii. 27, it is said of the Egyptians themselves, "They shall not lie with the mighty *that are* fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone to hell, εἰς ᾅδου, with their weapons of war."

The circumstance of the chlamys on the body, or rather πύελος, as mentioned by Diodorus, will supersede the need of correction suggested by Salmasius, who, in a passage from Theophrastus de Lapidibus, would substitute πυέλῳ for πέπλῳ: and that πέπλω was the true reading, will further appear from what Curtius relates of Cyrus. "Auro argentoque repletum esse crediderat, quippe ita famâ Persæ vulgaverant; sed præter clypeum ejus putrem, et arcus duos Scythicos, et aciuacem, nihil reperit. Ceterum corona aurea imposita *amiculo*, cui adsueverat ipse, solium, in quo corpus jacebat, velavit." Lib. x. c. 1. "Καὶ ὁ τῷ ἐλέφαντι ὅμοιος ὁ χιτὼν καλούμενος, ἐν ᾧ ΠΕΠΛΩΙ φασὶ καὶ Δαρεῖον κεῖσθαι. Quid heic, malum, *peplus* sibi vult, aut facit? Ne dubita legere: ἐν ᾗ ΠΥΕΛΩΙ φασὶ καὶ Δαρεῖον κεῖσθαι. Vel ἐν ᾗ; ΠΥΕΛΩΙ." Plinian. Exercitationes, p. 848.

[r] "*Conditorium* ET *corpus* Magni Alexandri, cùm, prolatum e penetrali, subjecisset oculis, coronâ aureâ impositâ, ac floribus aspersis, *veneratus est*." Aug. c. 18. The last circumstance is expressive of divine honours. "Etiamne *Dii* sertis, *coronis* afficiuntur et *floribus?*" Arnob. advers. Gent. lib. vii.—"Ad deorum templa concurrunt; his libant, his sacrificant; hos *coronant*." Lactant. Divinar. Institut. lib. ii. c. 1. And Suetonius, in his Life of Augustus, c. 31. "Compitales lares ornare bis anno instituit, vernis floribus et æstivis."

[s] "Nunquid et Leon ille sacerdos Aegyptius, poeta vel academicus fuit, qui Macedonis Alexandro diversam quidem a Græcorum opinione istorum Deorum originem, veruntamen ita prodit, ut eos *homines* fuisse declaret." Augustin. de Consens. Evangelist. lib. i. c. 23. Athenag. Apol. p. 31.

shrine of the thirteenth God[t] was deemed by Severus a mystic monument? This emperor, attracted to Egypt by its antiquities, its novelties, and the worship of Serapis[u], after investigating every source of information whether human or divine, and having taken from almost every temple its archives, shut them up with the monument of Alexander, that the *Soma* in which he was buried might no more be seen, nor these books be read by any one[x]. This interpretation

[t] Alexander, even in his life-time, was deified by the Athenians; whence, on passing the decree to declare he was Bacchus, Diogenes exclaimed, "Make me too Serapis." ΨΗΦΙΣΑΜΕΝΩΝ Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρον ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝ, Κἀμὲ, ἔφη, ΣΑΡΑΠΙΝ ποιήσατε. Diog. Laert. lib. ii. c. 2. n. 6.

[u] "Alexandriam petiit—Jucundum sibi peregrationem propter religionem Dei Serapidis, et propter novitatem animalium et locorum fuisse, Severus ipse postea ostendit. Nam et Memphim, et Memnonem, et Pyramides, et Labyrinthum diligenter inspexit." Spartian. in Vitâ Severi, c. xvii.

[x] Ἦν γὰρ οἷος μηδὲν μήτε ἀνθρώπινον μήτε θεῖον ἀδιερεύνητον καταλιπεῖν· κἀκ τούτου τά τε βιβλία πάντα τὰ ἀπόῤῥητόν τι ἔχοντα, ὅσα καὶ εὑρεῖν ἠδυνήθη, ἐκ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν ἀδύτων ἀνεῖλε, καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου μνημείῳ ΣΥΝέκλεισεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔτι μήτε ΤΟ τούτου ΣΩΜΑ ἴδῃ, μήτε τὰ ἐν ἐκείνοις γεγραμμένα ἀναλέξηται. Dio, lib. lxx. c. 13. p. 1266.

In the sepulchral edifice of Osymandnas was a sacred library inscribed "The Remedy of the Soul." Diodor. lib. ii. c. 49. Ptolemy's library was in the Serapeum, where the Hebrew Scriptures were open to the Jews. Tertul. Apologetic. p. 182.

The monument of Cyrus was closed by the order of Alexander, who placed his signet upon it, to prevent violation. This leads to the observation, as a circumstance of moment, that the Chief-priests and Pharisees, in requiring a Roman guard, and setting their own seal upon the sepulchre of Christ, of themselves stated, beforehand, what evidence, in coincidence with the alleged prediction, would ascertain the fact of his resurrection. Hence, a more satisfactory account may be offered, than has hitherto been assigned, for his non-appearance in public to the Jews. They chose, in the measures they adopted, their own criterion of evidence; yet rejected the very fact, which these measures confirmed. See St. Matthew, c. xxvii. ver. 62, to the end.

is supported by Strabo, who relates, that within the palace of Alexandria was an area or court called *Soma*, in which Alexander was entombed[y]. Casaubon indeed, not aware of this authority from Dio, proposed to read Σῆμα, the monument, for Σῶμα, the body, which Wesseling and others approve; but adds, "if Σῶμα be right, the structure might have been so called in honour of Alexander, from his *body* deposited in it." That it thence had its name, will further appear from what Dio relates of Augustus, "who saw both the *Soma* of Alexander, and his *body*, and is said, in handling the latter, to have broken off part of the nose[z]." This name, however, adopted as a convertible term, was derived from a doctrine originally Egyptian; which held that the soul was entombed in the body, as in a monument[a].

[y] Μέρος δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον ΣΩΜΑ, ὃ περίβολος ἦν. Lib. xvii. p. 794. A *Peribolus* was the *templi conseptum*, or inclosure that encompassed the temple. At Athens there were three temples within the same Peribolus: Ὑφ' ἓνα δὲ ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΝ ὅ, τε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς, καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀγραύλου καὶ Διομήδους. Porphyr. de Abstinent. lib. ii. c. 54.

[z] Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ΤΟ μὲν ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΣΩΜΑ εἶδε, καὶ ΑΥΤΟΥ καὶ προσήψατο, ὥστε τὶ τῆς ῥινὸς, ὥς φασι, θραυσθῆναι. Lib. li. c. 16. p. 647.

[a] Thus Philo, p. 41: Ἡ ψυχὴ ὡς ἂν ἐν ΣΗΜΑΤΙ τῷ ΣΩΜΑΤΙ ἐντετυμβευμένη. Also Theodoret, Therapeut. E'. p. 514: Τῷ τοι ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Κρατύλῳ ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΣΗΜΑ κέκληκεν· ὡς, ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ψυχῆς οἱονεὶ τεθαμμένης: and Plato, in Stobæo, lib. i. c. 45. sect. 9. ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ λέγεις;—καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖν παράγειν οὐδὲ γρύμμα· which the Scholiast in what follows as a new section (but erroneously) illustrates from Homer, who uses σῶμα for a body without life, in opposition to δέμας a body that is animated. Hence, while δέμας denotes the detention of the soul within the body, σῶμα is the σῆμα, or *monument* of its departure from it. Τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ τῆς ψυχῆς δεσμὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ δέμας κρατουμένης, ΣΩΜΑ δὲ ἀπολείπεται, τουτέστι ΣΗΜΑ καὶ ἴχνος, ἀπελθούσης. See Iliad A'. v. 115. and H'. v. 79.——But the assertion of Plato in his Gorgias, "that the *body* is our *monument*," most decidedly applies: ΤΟ μὲν ΣΩΜΑ ἐστὶ ἡμῶν ΣΗΜΑ. Tom. IV. p. 100.

But more to our point is the speech of Aristander[b], who is stated to have declared, under the impulse of inspiration, that Alexander was the most fortunate of kings, whether regarded as living or dead; for concerning him, the Gods had pronounced, that whatever country received the BODY *in which his soul had first dwelt,* should enjoy complete prosperity, and be for ever impregnable. This declaration excited a general contention; for each competitor was anxious that his own kingdom should obtain such a treasure: but Ptolemy, if tradition may be trusted, after the body had been exhibited in solemn pageant, removed it into Egypt, to enshrine it in the city which Alexander had there founded. Hence, his monument became sacred, and as such Lucan describes it[c]:

> Canst thou with altars, and with rights divine,
> The rash vain Youth of Macedon enshrine?
>
> ROWE.

[b] Ἀλλ' οὗτός γε τριάκοντα ἡμέρας κατελέλειπτο ἀκηδής· ἕως Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ Τελμισσεὺς, θειόληπτος γενόμενος, ἢ ἔκ τεινος ἄλλης συντυχίας κατασχεθεὶς, ἦλθεν εἰς μέσους τοὺς Μακεδόνας, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφη, τὸν πάντων τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος βασιλέων εὐδαιμονέστατον Ἀλέξανδρον γεγονέναι, καὶ ζῶντα, καὶ ἀποθανόντα· λέγειν ἄρα τοὺς θεοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὅτι ἄρα ἡ ὑποδεξαμένη γῆ τὸ σῶμα, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πρῶτον ᾤκησεν ἡ ἐκείνου ψυχὴ, παντευδαιμῶν τε ἔσται, καὶ ἀτόρθητος δι' αἰῶνος. Ταῦτα μαθόντες πολλὴν εἰσεφέροντο φιλονεικίαν, ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν τὸ ἀγώγιμον τοῦτο ἄγειν ἐπιθυμῶν, ἵνα κειμήλιον ἔχῃ, βασιλείας ἀσφαλοῦς καὶ ἀκλινοῦς ὅμηρον. Πτολεμαῖος δὲ, εἴτι χρὴ πιστεύειν, τὸ σῶμα ἐξεκάλυψε, καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλιν, τὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐκόμισε. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. c. 64.

[c] Lib. viii. v. 693:

> Cum tibi *sacrato* Macedon servatur in *antro?*

And again, on the visit of Julius[d]:

> There the vain Youth, who made the world his prize,
> That prosp'rous robber, Alexander, lyes.
> When pitying Death, at length, had freed mankind,
> To *sacred shrines* his bones were here consign'd:
> His bones, that better had been toss'd and hurl'd,
> With just contempt, around the injur'd world.
> But Fortune spar'd the dead; and partial Fate,
> For ages, fix'd his Pharian empire's date.
> If e'er our long-lost liberty return,
> That carcase is preserv'd for public scorn:
> Now, it remains a monument confest,
> How one proud man could lord it o'er the rest.
>
> ROWE.

If it be inquired, Why the archives of the Egyptian shrines should have been shut up with Alexander's, in the *Soma*? the answer will be obvious, from considering their contents; which, according to Manetho (who was, ἀρχιερεὺς, καὶ γραμματεὺς ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤ' ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ ΙΕΡΩΝ ΑΔΥΤΩΝ, both chief-priest and scribe of these hallowed depositories), comprized explanations of the elementary hieroglyphics, sculptured on stone by Thoth before the deluge. These Agathodæmon, son of the second Hermes, rendered into the sacred dialect, and consigned to

[d] Lib. x. v. 19.

> Illic Pellæi proles vesana Philippi
> Felix prædo jacet: terrarum vindice fato
> Raptus: *sacratis* totum spargenda per orbem
> Membra viri posuere *adytis*: Fortuna pepercit
> Manibus, et regni duravit ad ultima fatum.
> Nam sibi libertas unquam si redderet orbem,
> Ludibrio servatus erat, non utile mundo
> Editus exemplum, terras tot posse sub uno
> Esse viro.——

the shrines of the Egyptian temples[e]; where they were preserved—and in Greek,—Manetho himself having transferred them into that language, together with the history they contained. This is attested by Josephus, who relates of Manetho, "that he wrote the history of his own country in Greek, having translated it, as he himself declares, from the sacred language." And: "this Manetho, having promised to interpret the Egyptian history from the hieroglyphics, hath traced thus far the records of these transactions." Again: "What Manetho hath brought together on these heads, is not from the Egyptian records, but, as himself admits, from uncertain and mythological originals[f]."

As now it was the object of Severus to subvert the fundamental institutions of Alexandria, and substitute his own[g]; what happier expedient could he have adopted, than to consign these archives to oblivion, in the shrine of its *Founder;*

[e] That the sacred records in these shrines were of this nature, is clear from the testimony of Apuleius: "De opertis adyti profert quosdam libros, litteris ignorabilibus prænotatos: partim figuris cujuscemodi animalium, concepti sermonis compendiosa verba suggerentes: partim nodosis, et in modum rotæ tortuosis, capreolatimque condensis apicibus, à curiositate profanorum lectione munita." Metamorph. lib. xi. p. 801.

[f] Γέγραφε γὰρ ΕΛΛΑΔΙ ΦΩΝΗΙ τὴν πάτριον ἱστορίαν, ἔκ τε τῶν ἱερῶν, ὡς φησιν αὐτός, μεταφράσας. Joseph. contra Apion. lib. i. c. 14. And c. 26: Ὁ γὰρ Μανεθὼς οὗτος, ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων μεθερμηνεύειν ὑπεσχημένος, . . . . . μέχρι μὲν τούτων ἠκολούθησε ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς. Again, c. 16: Ὑπὲρ ὧν δ' ὁ Μανεθὼν οὐκ ἐκ τῶν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις γραμμάτων, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ὡμολόγηκεν, ἐκ τῶν ἀδεσπότως μυθολογουμένων προστέθεικεν.

[g] "Alexandrinis jus bulentarum dedit, qui sine concilio, ita ut sub Regibus, antea vivebant, uno contenti judice, quem Cæsar dedisset. Multa præterea his jura mutavit." Spartian. ubi suprà. See also Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. 11.

whose Tomb contained in mystic symbols so striking a record, both civil and sacred, which such documents alone could serve to explain? To have destroyed at once these precious deposits, would have been an instant incitement to revolt; but by committing them to this hallowed inclosure, the prejudices of the people were consulted, and his aim at the same time obtained.

It hath been remarked as *singular*, that the Saracens should have respected the Tomb of Alexander; but how much more singular would it have been if no knowledge of his Tomb had existed among them? And, what can be so inconsistent as to urge the silence of Furer, Boucher, Vansleb, and Niebuhr; or the doubt entertained by Bruce, whether, from Marmol's account, there were such a Tomb, in direct opposition to uniform proofs?

The testimony of Pococke, "that the Mahometans have a great regard for the memory of Alexander," and that "there are travellers who relate that they have his body in a *Mosque*," are traditions at once coincident with those of antient date, and the recent discovery of the Tomb itself; although the persons of whom Pococke inquired, either could not, or would not, conduct him to it.

As Norden testifies, that the Tomb of Alexander was both known to the Saracens in the fifteenth century, and respected by them; this assuredly can be no argument against its existence; or proof that time had devoured it. If either Pococke or Norden had been acquainted with the "Relation of a

Journey" by our countryman SANDYS, they would have learned, that, at Alexandria, " within a serraglio called *Somia*, belonging to the palaces, the Ptolomies had their sepultures, together with Alexander the Great;" that " the glass coverture" substituted for the golden one, from which his body was taken by Cybiosactes, " remained vntill the time of the Saracens;" and " that there is yet (1611) here to be seene a little chappell; within, a TOMBE, much honoured and visited by the Mahometans, where they bestow their almes; *supposing his body to lie in that place:* Himselfe reputed a great Prophet, they being so informed by their ALCORAN." p. 112.

In the extract adduced from Sonnini, a satisfactory reason occurs, why Furer, Boucher, Vansleb, Pococke, Norden, Niebuhr, and Bruce, did not see this Tomb; namely, because it was in a *Mosque*, which no Christian could enter but at the hazard of his life: whilst ignorance in the inhabitants at large; want of previous information to prompt an inquirer; or of curiosity in the many who travel; are considerations to obviate the difficulty raised.

As Norden refers to a writer of the *fifteenth* century, for the knowledge of Alexander's Tomb to the Saracens, and the veneration in which they held it; so another writer is cited of the *sixteenth*, LEO AFRICANUS, whose testimony is direct and most strikingly pointed: and as the cast of his narration is that of a spectator, there is further ground to

believe he described what he saw; for that which *appears*, in his own phrase, *not to be passed by*, was immediately open to his view, himself at that time being a MUSLEMAN. When, therefore, what follows is taken in account, "that a great crowd of pilgrims from distant countries resorted thither, for the sake of *worshipping* and *showing reverence* to the TOMB; on which large alms were frequently conferred;" good reasons must be given before we can reject what Leo hath thus recorded; what Sandys, in the century after, confirmed; and what Denon hath represented in his VIEW *of the* MOSQUE,—which exhibits the *chapel*, the *worshippers*, and the TOMB.

It is further observed, that the Alexandrian Sarcophagus was noticed in the twelfth century by Benjamin of Tudela. But is it not rather strange to be told, on the same authority, that the monument described by him might not be that which he saw?

In abatement, however, of this paradox, it has been affirmed, that there is evidence of the existence of other such monuments; whence a singular difficulty is stated to arise, which is deemed to be insurmountable: namely, the appropriation of the very monument to Alexander which actually was his own. But the evidence thus alleged, and so particularly required, has not yet been produced; for as to the other large coffin in the British Museum, it not only differs materially from the one in question; but, though brought

from the shore of Alexandria[h], could not have been seen there by Benjamin, since it was originally placed at Caïro, where Niebuhr inaccurately drew it, and was removed to Alexandria by the French, for the purpose of transferring it to their National Museum[i]. Yet, were the fact otherwise, and that the monument answered in general to Benjamin's description, it could not have been the Sarcophagus of Alexander; because that remained, alone, in the chapel, as Leo and Sandys relate, invisible to any but a Musleman, and so continued till the building that contained it was violated by Denon, who, having intelligence from a Greek of the monument within, caused the door, in defiance of the natives, to be hewn down by soldiers with axes[k].

But, to aid the last objection against this Sarcophagus, as having been the Tomb of Alexander, it is not only questioned, whether he were buried according to Egyptian rites? but, that he was, is asserted to be an unverified position.

With respect to the doubt it certainly may be asked, How Alexander, who was transferred from Babylon to Egypt, there to be admitted as an Egyptian Divinity, could

[h] See note (a) in page 78. The conjecture, which Benjamin mentions, that some antediluvian king had been buried in this monument, is grounded on the notion that the hieroglyphics upon it were considered as the writing of Thoth, and invented before the deluge.

[i] Another engraving of this monument, as it stood at Caïro, is given from the drawings in Sir Robert Ainslie's collection.

[k] This fact is given from a communication of General Turner, to whom it was related by Denon himself.

consistently have obtained that honour, and yet have been buried as a Greek? It was as the benefactor of Egypt that he there was enshrined, and, as the thirteenth God of that country, received adoration.

But reverting to the verification which the assertion demands, it is obvious to remark, that, long before the age of Alexander, the Greeks burned all their dead. If Alexander therefore were buried in the manner of the Greeks, not his body but his ashes must have been carried into Egypt. Herodotus relates, that the funeral rites of Babylonia and of Egypt were the same[l]; and Quintus Curtius[m], that the Egyptians and Chaldæans, who had the charge of embalming Alexander, in the manner which was common to them both, scrupled at first to touch his corpse, lest, as no exterior change had appeared, some spark of life might still linger within[n]; but after praying that it might be lawful and

[l] Lib. i. c. 198.

[m] Lib. x. c. 10. 13. *Ægyptii, Chaldæique jussi corpus* suo more *curare*, primo non sunt ausi admovere velut spiranti manus: deinde precati, ut jus fasque esset mortalibus adtrectare eum; purgavere corpus, repletumque est odoribus aureum solium, et capiti adjecta fortunæ ejus insignia.

[n] Lucian, in his Dialogue between Diogenes and Alexander, fixes its date on the THIRD DAY after Alexander's death: ἔτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι κεῖμαι ΤΡΙΤΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ· but, from the mention of Ælian that he had remained there THIRTY *days* unburied, Du Soul is disposed to think τρίτην, the *third*, erroneous. The fact however is, that to complete the process of embalming, *thirty days* were required, and it was not till the *third day* that this process began; which may account for the assertion, that Alexander's body, having been left so long untouched, was, in the opinion of the Greeks, neglected.

It may not be improper to observe in this place, that on the *third* day after the crucifixion, the two Maries and Salome brought sweet spices, that they might come and anoint the body. St. Mark, xvi. 1.

right to handle a *God*[o], they washed and placed him in the shell formed of hammered gold; which was filled (or, according to Diodorus, half-filled) with odours[p]. This being duely done, the symbols of his fortune were annexed to his head: [CAPITI ADJECTA *fortunæ ejus* INSIGNIA.] What these were, it is easy to find; for Ælian relates[q], that Alexander called himself the Son of Jupiter; and Clemens[r], that his statues were distinguished by the horns of that god:—As now among the symbols appropriate to the different divinities, the *horns* of the *ram* were peculiar to *Ammon*[s], the Jupiter of Egypt; as the Egyptian statues exhibited him with them[t]; and as Alexander himself wore the *horns* of *this god*[u], RAM'S HORNS must have formed the

[o] —— ut jus fasque esset adtrectare (not EUM, but) DEUM. Thus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tom. I. p. 77. Οἵδε γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ΑΠΟΘΕΟΥΝ τετολμήκασι, ΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ἀναγεράφοντες ΘΕΟΝ, ὃν Βαβυλὼν ἥλιγξε ΝΕΚΡΟΝ. Also Lucian: Ὀζῶντας τὸν ΝΕΚΡΟΝ τοῦ ΘΕΟΥ ἐκτάδην κείμενοι. Dialog. Mort. XIV. 5. Tom. I. That *Deum* is the true reading, may be inferred not only from the prayer of the embalmers that it might be permitted to *mortals* to perform the office; but, if Alexander were considered as no more than a *mortal*, the object of their prayer was absurd.

[p] This Egyptian custom occurs in Florus: "Cleopatra in *differto odoribus solio*, juxta suum collocavit Antonium." Lib. iv. c. 11.

[q] Ὁ μὲν Φιλίππου καὶ Ὀλυμπιάδος Ἀλέξανδρος, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὸν βίον καταστρέψας, ΝΕΚΡΟΣ, Ὁ τοῦ ΔΙΟΣ λέγων. Var. Hist. lib. xii. c. 64.

[r] Ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ΑΜΜΩΝΟΣ ΥΙΟΣ εἶναι δοκεῖν, καὶ ΚΕΡΑΣΦΟΡΟΣ ἀναπλάττεσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀγαλματοποιῶν. Cohort. ad Gentes, p. 48.

[s] —— οὗτο δὴ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ μὲν ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ἀγάλματι, ΚΡΙΟΥ προσῆψαν ΚΕΡΑΤΑ· ταύρου δέ, τῷ Διονύσῳ· κ. τ. λ. Porphyr. de Abstinent. lib. iii. p. 284.

[t] ΚΡΙΟΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ τῶγαλμα ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι. Herodot. lib. ii. c. 42.

[u] Ἔφιππος δὲ φησὶν, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφόρει ΤΟΥ ΑΜΜΩΝΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΤΑ, ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ Ὁ ΘΕΟΣ. Athenæus, lib. xii. p. 537.

It is observable that, under a print of the same head on the tetradrachm of

one part of his *insignia*, whilst the diadem completed the other [x]. Hence, on the coins of Lysimachus the head of Alexander *deified* is represented with both [y]. Nor is he less certainly known as the Son of Jupiter by the locks, which rising on his forehead bend downward, and writhing from his temples in separate curls invariably and infallibly distinguish this Divinity [z].

Lysimachus, prefixed to the edition of Quintus Curtius by Janson, CIↃ IↃ XLIV, the following inscription of Heinsius is subjoined :

ΕΙΔΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΔΕ ΗΝ, ΚΟΣΜΟΙΟ ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΝ·
ΕΚ ΓΕΝΕΗΣ, ΘΝΗΤΩΝ, ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ, ΕΚ ΚΕΡΑΤΩΝ.

[x] Among other ensigns of royalty, Alexander in his car is described by Lucian, as chiefly conspicuous by the WHITE *bandage*, or diadem, *that surrounded his head:* καὶ ΤΟ ἐπίσημον εἶναι ἐλαύνοντα, ΔΙΑΔΕΔΕΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΑΙΝΙΑΙ ΛΕΥΚΗΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΝ. Dial. Mort. XIII. 4. Tom. I. p. 393.

The *white* fascia, or bandage of the kings of Macedon was not an arbitrary ornament assumed by Alexander, but, διάδημα βασιλικὸν, the patrimonial ensign of royalty. Thus the old Grammarian, speaking of the *causia* or hat worn by the Macedonian kings, adds, that they bound it round with a *white diadem:* Καυσία πῖλος ἦν πλατὺς, ὃν οἱ Μακεδονικοὶ βασιλεῖς ἐφόρουν, ΛΕΥΚΟΝ αὐτῷ διάδημα περιειλοῦντες. Hence, Casaubon acutely observes, that the imputation on Pompey of affecting royalty, from his leg being bound with a white bandage, arose not from the bandage itself, but from its being a *white* one. Pompeio candida fascia crus alligatum habenti Favonius, non refert, inquit, quâ in parte corporis sit diadema. Valerius Max. lib. vi. 2. 7. Pompey's excuse for wearing this bandage (diadema) was to hide an unsightly wound. See Casaubon. in Sueton. August. c. 82.

[y] This device was aptly chosen; not only for that Lysimachus had succeeded him in a kingdom; but because it was foretold of Lysimachus, that *himself should be a King*, from having had his wound bound up with Alexander's diadem: — Τὸν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἀπορίᾳ τελαμῶνος, ΤΩΙ ΔΙΑΔΗΜΑΤΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ τὸ τραῦμα περιδῆσαι· καὶ ἐμπλησθῆναι μὲν αἵματος, τὸ διάδημα· τὸν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μάντιν Ἀρίστανδρον, φερομένῳ τῷ Λυσιμάχῳ, καὶ ὧδε ἔχοντι, ἐπειπεῖν· ὅτι, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΟΥΤΟΣ Ο ΑΝΗΡ. Appian. de Syr. Tom. I. lib. xiv. p. 633.

[z] Alessandro il Grande ha egli pure nelle sue teste *un constante* e INFALLIBLE *distintivo* i suoi capelli a *somiglianza di quei di* Giove, di cui voleva esser

When a body had been washed by these embalmers, it remained thirty days till the process was complete; and thirty days precisely was Alexander's kept[a]. It is remarked by Pliny of *honey*, that it enables a corse to resist putrescence; and Herodotus, who had mentioned that the rites of the dead in Babylonia and Egypt were the same, hath noticed it as the practice of the latter, to use honey in preserving them[b]. Abdollatiph, likewise, after relating that the dead of antient Egypt were interred, some in thick coffins of sycamore; some in sarcophagi of white marble, basaltes, or granite; and others in troughs full of honey; adds, upon the authority of a credible voucher, an account of a party, which, in search of treasure near the pyramids, having met with an oblong vessel carefully closed, opened it; and on finding that it contained honey,

creduto figlio, son dalla fronte ripiegati indietro, e cadon giù serpeggiando dalle tempie divisi in varie ciocche. Questa maniera di portare i capelli ripiegati indietro vien detta da Plutarco *ἀναστολὴ τῆς κόμης*, ove nella vita di Pompeo dice che questi portava i capelli a *somiglianza d'Alessandro*. Winkelmann, Storia delle Arte dall' Abbate Fea, Tom. I. p. 359.

Hence may be seen in what form Alexander was shewn to be the son of the God:

*ἐνὶ μορφῇ σπέρμα* ΔΙΟΣ *σήμαινεν.*

Anthолog. lib. v. 54. sect. iv. 5.

[a] *Ἀλλ' οὗτός γε* ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ *ἩΜΕΡΑΣ κατελέλειπτο ἀκηδής.* Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. xii. c. 64.

[b] Porphyry, de Antro Nympharum, c. xv. p. 15. refers to the like application of it, from its purifying as well as preservative power: *ἐπεὶ καθαρτικῆς ἐστὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ συντηρητικῆς. τῷ γὰρ μέλιτι ἄσηπτα μένει.* And, again, c. xvi. *Λαμβανομένου τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ καθαρμοῦ τοῦ μέλιτος, καὶ ἐπὶ φυσικῆς σηπεδόνος*: where for *φυσικῆς*, which is evidently a corruption, Ruhnken, from *τὸ* ΦΥΛΑΚΤΙΚΟΝ *ἐν συμβόλῳ τίθενται*, a little before, substitutes ΦΥΛΑΚΗΣ ΤΗΣ: an emendation proposed also by Lusac.

began to eat, till some hairs which clung about the finger of one of them, being drawn forth, a young boy was discovered, his limbs entire and flesh soft, decked with an ornament and a jewel [b].

Lucretius, in allusion to the different modes of burial, hath specified the same preservative:

> Grant the corse torn by ravening fangs a curse,
> Is hence no ill in funeral flames to burn;
> Or, pent in cold obstruction, stiffening lie
> Immers'd in *honey*, while entomb'd in stone? [c]

[b] وبوجد بعض موتاهم في توابيت من خشب الجميز ثخين وبوجد بعضهم في بواويس من حجارة اما رخام واما صوان وبعضهم في ازيار مملوة عسلا وخبزني الثقة انهم بينما كانوا ينتغون المطالب عند الاهرام صادفوا دنا مختوما فضوا فاذا فيه عسل فاكلوا منه فعلق في اصبع احدهم شعر فجذبه فظهر لهم صبي صغير متاسسك الاعضا رطب البدن عليه شي من الحلي والجوهر ✲

Histor. Ægypt. Compend. c. iv. p. 146.

[c] Nam si in morte malum est, malis morsuque ferarum
Tractari; non invenio quî non sit acerbum
Ignibus impositum calidis, torrescere flammis;
Aut in *melle* situm suffocari, atque rigere
Frigore, cùm in summo gelidi cubat æquore saxi?

Lib. iii. v. 901.

It is recorded by Josephus, that Aristobulus the Jewish king, whom Pompey's partisans took off by poison, lay buried in honey (καὶ ὁ νεκρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο ἐν ΜΕΛΙΤΙ κεκηδευμένος) till Antony sent him to the royal cemetery in Judea. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 7.

In honey, also, is Alexander recorded to have been preserved [d].

Thus treated, instead of being reduced to *ashes*, in the manner of the Greeks — ὁ μὲν Ἕλλην ΕΚΑΥΣΕΝ, — each limb, according to Diodorus, remained entire; and even the eye-lashes, eye-brows, and features, retained their symmetry, so unchanged, that the very air of them might be known: whence, many of the Egyptians kept the bodies of their ancestors in costly repositories, for the purpose of surveying their persons, and indulging in the strange delight of

[d] Statius Silv. lib. iii. carm. 2. v. 117.

Duc et ad Aemathios manes, ubi belliger urbis
Conditor *Hyblæo* perfusus *nectare* durat.

The like application of *nectar* to *fluid honey* was common both in Latin and in Greek.

Thus Virgil, Æneid. lib. i. 5.

Qualis apes æstate novâ per florea rura
Exercet sub sole labor; cùm gentis adultos
Educunt flores, aut cùm liquentia mella
Stipant et dulci distendunt NECTARE cellas.

And Euripides, Bacch. v. 142.

Ῥεῖ δὲ γάλακτι πέδον,
Ῥεῖ δ' οἴνῳ, ῥεῖ δὲ μελισσᾶν
ΝΕΚΤΑΡΙ, Συρίας δ' ὡς λιβάνου καπνός.

The *exhalation of the libanus of* Syria not only appropriates the other characteristics with which this country is represented as abounding, but identifies them with those by which Moses designated, and the spies confirmed, its fertility. "And the Lord said unto Moses, Go up hence, thou and the people which thou hast brought up out of the land of Egypt, unto the land which I sware unto Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob, saying, Unto thy seed will I give it: — unto a land *flowing* with *milk* and *honey*." Exod. xxxiii. 1. 3. "And they went, and came to Moses; and they told him, and said, We came unto the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it *floweth* with *milk* and *honey*; and [pointing to the cluster of grapes, which was borne on a staff between two] This is the fruit of it." Numbers, xiii. 26, 27.

contemplating their faces, as if they still were alive. In this state was Alexander found, when taken from the tomb to be viewed by Augustus; and thus he remained when seen by Caracalla. This emperor, on inspecting the corpse, ordered himself to be called the *Great*, and *Alexander*; being so deluded by the flatteries of his train, from his notice of the *stern frown* on Alexander's brow[e], and the bend of his neck toward the left shoulder, as to persuade himself of the most perfect resemblance between them, and thence to affect the same mien and deportment[f].

[e] The correspondence of this trait with the forehead of Alexander is most distinctly preserved on the coins of Lysimachus, and corresponds with the βλεφάρων ΓΟΡΓΩΠΟΝ ΈΔΡΑΝ in the Rhesus of Euripides, v. 8.

[f] "*Hic* corpore Alexandri Macedonis conspecto, MAGNUM, atque ALEXANDRUM se jussit appellari, assentantium fallaciis eo perductus, ut TRUCI FRONTE, et ad lævum humeram conversâ cervice, quod in ore Alexandri notaverat, incedens, fidem vultûs simillimi persuaderet sibi." Aurel. Victor, p. 211.

Paulus, the civilian, affords proof that Caracalla assumed the epithet of *Great*, in reference to the law which he enacted against adultery: "*Magnus* Antoninus pepercit eis qui adulteros inconsulto calore ducti interfecerunt." Veter. Prudent. Fragment. Tit. III. de Adulterio. Whilst Spartian observes that in his early youth, whether from the advice of his father, his own shrewdness, or because he imagined that at a future time he might rival Alexander, he became more reserved, more grave, and assumed a greater ferocity of countenance than was natural to him: "Egressus verò pueritiam, seu patris monitis, seu calliditate ingenii, sive quòd se Alexandro Magno Macedoni æquandum putabat, restrictior, *cautior* factus est." But Caracalla was not the only counterfeit Alexander. His satraps, as Themistius relates, turned his head toward his left shoulder; one adopted another his dress; a third his deep tone of voice: whilst the Romans, thought that the trim of his beard was most

Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν γὰρ Μακεδόνος μιμεῖσθαι ἐπετήδευον οἱ Σατράπαι τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν εὐώνυμον ὦμον· καὶ ἑτέρου κουρὰν· ἑτέρου δὲ ἀμπεχόνην· ἄλλου δὲ φωνῆς· Σεβήρου δὲ ἄρχοντος Ῥωμαίων τὸ κομᾶν τὴν γενειάδα, at. xiii. p. 175.

In the Egyptian rites of sepulture, after the merits of the deceased had been weighed and made known, a prayer was offered, in his name, to obtain for him an abode with the infernal gods. Porphyry has preserved to us the form, as translated from the Egyptian by Euphantus[ε]:—— "'O sovereign Sun, and all ye Gods who confer life on man, receive me, and grant me to inhabit with the gods below! for the gods whom my parents have set before me, I have religiously regarded as long as I have lived in the world, and the authors of my body I have always reverenced. Other men I have neither killed, nor in any manner injured. But if in my life-time I have sinned either by eating or drinking what was not permitted, I sinned not of myself, but through these,'—pointing at the chest that contained the bowels, and which at these words was cast into the river. The rest of the body, as being pure, was embalmed."

"The Egyptians," according to Diodorus, "regarded the duration of this life but little, in competition with the glory of the future, acquired by virtue. Our houses they called lodgings, from the short stay we make in them; but sepulchres, everlasting mansions." They are praised by the same historian "for their gratitude to benefactors; and their *Kings* they appear to have reverenced as *Gods*; for deeming them, through the favour of

ε De Abstinentiâ, lib. iv. c. 10. p. 329. It is observable from the context, that none were emboweled, but persons of high birth: τῶν εὖ γεγονότων.

Providence, to have reached the summit of power, they regarded them, from their ability and inclination to confer benefits, as actually partakers of the divine nature[h]." Hence, the deification of Alexander, founder of Alexandria; who, while *alive*, and even *dead*, was revered as a God[i].

The grief of Olympias, aggravated by her son's remaining so long unburied, is the subject of a chapter in Ælian[k]. The length of time, however, there dwelt upon, refers not, as Perizonius imagined, to the *thirty days* requisite for the process of embalming[l], (which the distance between Pella and Babylon must evince,) but to the *almost two years* in preparing the pageant[m]; for during that interval, the body, though in its golden coverture, lay unentombed: a circumstance most abhorrent to the feelings of a Greek; as with the Greeks it had been a rooted opinion, that, till the body were interred, the soul could not enter the region of happiness. Thus the ghost of Patroclus addresses Achilles[n]:

[h] Lib. i. c. 90, 91, 92.

[i] Chrysostom, Tom. X. p. 625.

[k] Ælian, Var. Hist. lib. xiii. c. 30.

[l] Diodor. as cited before.

[m] Diodor. lib. xviii. c. 28.

[n] Εὕδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο λελασμένος ἔπλευ, Ἀχιλλεῦ;
Οὐ μέν μευ ζώοντος ἀκήδεις, ἀλλὰ θανόντος·
ΘΑΠΤΕ ΜΕ ὍΤΤΙ ΤΑΧΙΣΤΑ, ΠΥΛΑΣ Ἄϊδαο ΠΕΡΗΣΩ.
Τῆλέ με εἴργουσι ψυχαὶ, εἴδωλα καμόντων,
Οὐδέ μέ πως μίσγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο ἐῶσιν·
Ἀλλ' αὖτως ἀλάλημαι ἀν' εὐρυπυλὲς Ἄϊδος δῶ.

Thou sleep'st, Achilles! and Patroclus, erst
The most belov'd, in death forgotten lies.
*Haste—give me burial; I would pass the gates*
*Of Hades;* for the Shadows of the Dead
Now drive me from their fellowship afar,
And the wide river interpos'd, I roam
The yawning gulphs of Tartarus, alone. COWPER.

The grief of a mother, so circumstanced, is perfectly natural; and the term ΆΤΑΦΟΣ in Ælian accords with the Arabic tradition °, that the Tomb of "Egyptian marble" was substituted by Olympias; which, to our eyes, still remains, as the munificent monument of her love, and of the glory of Alexander.

° See page 81.

instance of devotion paid to this Sarcophagus was at its
dria in His Majesty's ship The Madras, commanded by
ard Bickerton; when the Capitano Bey, with his suite
stinction, came on board for the express purpose, and all
Tomb with their tongues. The privilege to render this
st the monument remained in its former situation, was
of the Mosque, by a contribution of six paras or medins,
On taking his leave, the Capitano Bey declared, that
r suffer the Tomb, in our hands, to go safe to England."
particulars were obligingly communicated by General

S. H.

# APPENDIX.

## N° III.

LETTER *to the Author on the Substances employed by the Antients in the* EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS *brought to the* BRITISH MUSEUM; *and particularly in the* ALEXANDRIAN SARCOPHAGUS;

BY

JOHN HAILSTONE, F.R.S.

AND

WOODWARDIAN PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

DEAR SIR,

THIS morning, and not before, I had an opportunity of examining the Egyptian Monuments placed at present in the court-yard of the British Museum, and particularly the celebrated Sarcophagus of which you requested my opinion with regard to the nature of the rock from which it has been wrought.

These monuments, both with respect to the materials of which they are composed and the inscriptions which they carry, are truly Egyptian. In general they consist of that kind of stone which WERNER and the German mineralogists

distinguish by the name of *Syenite*, supposing it to be the same which Pliny describes under that denomination. The constituent parts of this rock are feldspar and hornblend; quartz and mica are sometimes introduced, though but sparingly, and not as essential to its composition. Both the red and grey varieties of feldspar are indifferently found, and not unfrequently associated in the same specimen. The hornblend, when fresh, is constantly of a black colour, or some dark shade of green. These two substances are in general pretty uniformly crystallized and blended together; and when the combination is very intimate, and the hornblend seems to prevail in the composition, it is Werner's primitive *grünstein*, and, I believe, what among antiquaries goes by the name of Egyptian or antient *basaltes*. If the state of aggregation be minute, and of course the texture fine, the mass then presents an uniform appearance, and is frequently surcharged with large crystals of feldspar of a green colour: in this case the rock becomes porphyritic, and is that which is found in such abundance among the ruins of *Capri*, and is known by the name of *porfido verde antico*[a]. But in a geological point of view, I am inclined to comprehend all these varieties, and some others, under the same *specific* rock, and ascribe the whole to one and the same epoch of formation in nature. This formation

[a] Ferber's Italy, p. 225. var. A. who relates that it is found in large blocks and lumps near *Ostia*, the old harbour where the Egyptian ships unloaded.

must in all cases be considered as a crystallized aggregate, chiefly of the two substances above mentioned; and its different appearances are to be attributed merely to the varying proportions and colour of its component fossils, and their mode of aggregation, as more or less distinctly crystallized. This opinion receives confirmation from an inspection of the monuments of which I am speaking, as we may there see the red and grey varieties running in veins interchangeably through each other. In fact, the hornblend, in rocks of this formation, is very liable to be surcharged with a mixture of a greenish fossil, which seems to occasion its speedy decomposition. This green substance is somewhat indefinite in its composition; it is what colours the feldspar in the antient porphyry just described; it sometimes appears in distinct masses resembling steatites, and frequently as some of the varieties of chlorite. When the constituent parts of the rock are more intimately combined, it is usual for this fossil to pervade the whole mass; in which case it seems to increase the toughness of the stone, and gives that uniform dark greenish hue which is characteristic in some degree of all the rocks that belong to this formation. It is doubtless one of the darker varieties of this rock, which Strabo mentions (lib. xvii.) as constituting the foundations and lower half of one of the pyramids, and is described by him as a hard and black stone, difficult to be worked, and brought by the Egyptians from Ethiopia; and from

which they used to fabricate their mortars. This author, also, in the plain which he traversed, on his journey from Syene to Philæ, seems to have met with rocks of the same kind, arranged, as far as one can judge from his description, somewhat in the manner of a *Stonehenge*.

But to come at length to the famous Sarcophagus. This is a rock of a different nature from any of those which I have been describing: they, as I observed before, are all of them crystallized aggregates of certain determinate simple fossils; whereas this is an indefinite concretion of fragments of various species of rocks, and of course belongs to the class of the breccias. The basis seems to be a greenish argillaceous substance resembling chlorite earth, connecting small grains of pellucid quartz and minute fragments of a black schistus rock. This agglutination forms as it were the paste and cement of the whole, surrounding and including innumerable larger fragments of other stones, among which, however, jasper and hornstone seem the most prevailing species. The principal varieties are green and different shades of brown: some of the former colour might upon nearer examination prove to be jade, while the dark brown varieties resemble the common Egyptian pebble. It contains, besides, fragments of a dark coloured softish rock, which I can determine no nearer than that it seems to be some kind of schistus. I observed no limestone of any sort among the fragments. All these fragments are with

sharp edges, little if at all worn away by attrition: their general size is not large, seldom exceeding in diameter an inch, taken according to the greatest dimension. There are also interspersed, but very rarely, some white quartz pebbles, and masses somewhat rounded of the red variety of the Syenite described above. This enumeration as well as determination of the different kinds of fossils that are included in this interesting breccia, must necessarily be considered as defective; to perform the task completely would require more time and better opportunities than I had at my disposal. In general I consider this rock as bearing a striking analogy to the *grauwacke* of the Hartz. But with respect to its geological relations, we must wait till some of our enterprising mineralogists have ventured to explore the higher parts of Egypt and Ethiopia. In the mean time it may be remarked, that jasper and hornstone are not uncommonly found running in veins and layers through rocks of decomposed Syenite and porphyry; and that from this circumstance, and from the great quantity of chlorite earth which it contains, the local affinity of our breccia to the rocks described in the former part of my letter, may with some justice be inferred. Breccia rocks have generally been observed situated upon the limits of mountains which belong to different formations; and, accordingly, I should conjecturally place the Egyptian breccia upon the confines of the *Syenite* class, where the

transition is made to hills of a different substance and constitution. These however are mere conjectures, which I forbear to press any further, especially to a Traveller, like yourself, who has gone over a more extensive field of observation in this branch of knowledge than any of your predecessors.

I remain,

Dear Sir,

Yours, &c.

London,
*July* 25, 1804.

John Hailstone.

# APPENDIX.

## N° IV.

THE Ruins of *Tithorea* are at the base of Parnassus, on the north-east side of that mountain. The place is now called *Velitza*. I was led to the discovery by the Archon of *Lebadea*, and other Greeks, who described their situation, and called them the ruins of *Thebes*. Their position, together with an inscription which I found in the sanctuary of the church, will determine their real history. It is remarkable that Spon and Wheler were at *Turco Chorio*, within sight of *Velitza*, and knew nothing of those ruins. The walls of the antient forum are still entire, and, like those of *Tiryns* in the Peloponnesus, consist of very massy stones, put together without cement. The river, which descends in a torrent from Parnassus, still bears its antient appellation *Cachales*, in the word *Cacole* and *Caco Rami*, which the natives say signifies the *Evil Torrent*; and they have a tradition that it once destroyed *Thebes*; not *Thebes*

in Bœotia, but a city to which they gave this name, now called also *Paleo Castro,* the traces of which they showed me between *Tithorea* and *Turco Chorio,* about an hour's distance from either, where the *Cachales* falls into the *Cephissus.* This place I believe to have been LEDON, which was abandoned in the time of Pausanias. Nothing remains but the marks of its walls; every other memorial of the city is ploughed up. The tradition of the Tithoreans that it was destroyed by their river is entirely destitute of probability; as the inundation must have originated from the *Cephissus.* Pausanias, speaking of *Ledon,* says the inhabitants did not reside in the ruins of their city, but near them[a].

The walls of Tithorea extend in a surprizing manner up the prodigious precipices of Parnassus, which run behind the village of *Velitza.* High up those precipices may still be seen their remains, and even one of their turrets. There is a cave among those rocks, of which the peasants related marvellous stories; but as the weather was very unfavourable, and the approach difficult, I did not ascend. It must not be confounded with the *Corycian Cave,* now called *Sarand' auli* (the Cave of *Forty Courts*), which Pausanias describes as being thirty stadia from Delphi[b]. That cave is now to be seen on the other side of Parnassus, by taking guides from Delphi.

[a] Pausanias, lib. x. p. 675. edit. Xylaud. Hanov. 1613.
[b] Ibid. p. 671.

The Tithorean Cave is near Velitza, and may be the *Adytum* sacred to Isis [c]. Pausanias is very obscure in his determination of the position of the *Adytum;* as he states it to be forty stadia from the Temple of Esculapius [d], which was itself eighty stadia from Tithorea; therefore, unless the direction of his distance is known from the Temple of Esculapius, the *Adytum* may be fifteen miles from Tithorea. Too much attention cannot be paid to his text. In all the district of Parnassus, every word he utters is a treasure. His description of the Corycian Cave exactly corresponds with its present appearance [e]; and it may be remarked, although the approach to it from Delphi is extremely difficult, and, as he describes it, *without any path* [f], he visited it in his way to Tithorea, which he states to have been eighty stadia from Delphi, to one who is travelling through Parnassus [g].

Delphi and Tithorea, on different sides of Parnassus, were the halting places of those passing the mountain;

[c] Pausanias, lib. x. p. 673.

[d] Ibid.

[e] I made inquiry respecting the Corycian Cave, at Delphi, in the year 1800, and found that it was perfectly known to the natives, whose description of it exactly corresponded with that of Pausanias. The snow was so deep at the time, and the approach to that part of the mountain so difficult, that the guides would not go. By their account, it is about two hours distance from Delphi; although the time spent in going must depend upon the season of the year and other circumstances. It would have required many hours at the time I was there, if the access had been possible. I cannot depend upon the accuracy of their relation, in stating that it is capable of containing three thousand persons; but I made all the circumstances respecting it known at Constantinople, and it has been since visited by other travellers.

[f] Pausanias, ibid. p. 671.

[g] Ibid. p. 672.

*Aoste* in *Piedmont*, and *Martinach* in
/ith regard to Mount St. Bernard in the
es who accompanied me from *Rhacovi*,
the Delphic side, to the summit of
cd descending the same day to *Velitza*;
gth of time we remained on the top of
could only reach the monastery of *the*
*lem*, beautifully embowered, on the very
ous, amidst thick groves, overlooking the
e *Locri* and the *Dryopes*, and plains
: *Cephissus*. The whole district on
ls the south-east was Delphic; and
that all the country on the opposite side
Tithorea. "As to the name of the
"I know that Herodotus, in that part
in which he gives an account of the
Persians into Greece, differs from what

ιομα οἶδα τῆς πόλεως, Ἡροδότῳ τε εἰρημένα ἐν ἐπιστρατείᾳ τοῦ
ησμοῖς, Βάκις μέν γε Τιθορέας τοὺς ἐνθάδε ἐκάλεσεν ἀνθρώπους·
γος ἐπιόντος φησὶ τοῦ Βαρβάρου τοὺς ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦντας ἀναφυγεῖν
Νεῶνα μὲν τῇ πόλει, Τιθορέαν δε εἶναι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ τὴν
χρόνον, πρῶτα μὲν δὴ τῇ ἀπούσῃ χώρᾳ, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ
, ἐκνικῆσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει Τιθορέαν, μηδὲ ἔτι Νεῶνα ὀνομάζεσθαι.
pertinet, diversa ab Herodoto, quo loco agit de Persarum in
ta scio ab iis quæ Bacidis oraculis prodita sunt. Bacis enim
nses vocavit: Herodotus vero, invadente Barbaro milite,
in montis verticem effugisse dicit: urbemque Neonem, at
rem nominat. Quare credibile fuerit totam aliquando
ncupatam: temporis vero longiore curriculo ita accidisse,
*nam* se urbem contulissent, eam quæ Neon antea fuerat,
m vocari." Pausanias, lib. x. p. 672.

is asserted in the oracles of Bacis. For Bacis calls these people *Tithorenses*; but Herodotus says, that when the Barbarians invaded this country, the inhabitants fled to the summit of Parnassus; and he calls the city Neon, and the summit of Parnassus, Tithorea. It appears therefore that all the country was at first called Tithorea; but that in process of time, when the inhabitants collected themselves into one city, that which was once called Neon came to be denominated Tithorea."

The olives of this city were so celebrated, that they were sent as presents to the Roman emperors[1]. They still maintain their antient reputation, and are sent to the pachas and other grandees of Turkey.

The Inscription which I copied in the sanctuary of the church of Velitza, commemorates a tribute of honour rendered to Nerva, with an enumeration of his titles, by the citizens of TITHOREA, and the family of the FLAVII, whose names are specified.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΝΕΡΒΑΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ
ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ ΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΤΟ Δ
ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ
ΤΙΘΟΡΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ Τ ΦΛΑΒΙΟΣ ΣΩ
ΚΛΑΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ Τ ΦΛΑΒΙΟΣ ΑΠΑΣ**
ΚΑΙ Λ ΦΛΑΒΙΟΣ ΠΩΛΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ

[1] Pausanias, lib. x. p. 674.

I am indebted to the erudition and kindness of Dr. PARR for the whole I am able to offer in illustration of this Inscription. In the midst of his various and important literary engagements, he condescended to assist me in presenting it to the Public.

Where the reading is evidently suggested by the part which remains, the deficiencies are supplied by dotted letters, according to the plan pursued by Taylor, when he added the letters supposed to be wanted in the *Marmor Sandvicense*. The position of NEPBAN before KAIΣAPA is peculiar, for KAIΣAPA usually follows ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ, and the name of the emperor is introduced afterwards, as may be seen by referring to Gruter's Inscriptions: See N^os^ 20, 21, 62, 64, 65, 66, 84, 93, 95. The words ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΧΗΣ ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ appear without a numeral in N° 93, p. 354, of Spon's *Marmora Græca;* as Trib. Potestas in Spanheim, vol. II. p. 531; Medals of Louis XIV. p. 2, 3, 6, &c. ΤΟΔ is illustrated from the same inscription: See Spon, ibid. Δ is a numeral, and means the fourth time.

The date of this Inscription may be accurately ascertained, since Nerva died at the end of January A.D. 98, in a little less than a month after he had been declared Consul for the fourth time. It was probably thus written $\overline{\Delta}$, but in the inscription alluded to (93) the line is sometimes introduced and sometimes omitted. The numerals there are as follow:

ΤΟΘ. ΤΟ$\overline{\text{Ε}}$ ΤΟ$\overline{\text{Η}}$ ΤΟ$\overline{\text{Ζ}}$ ΤΟΘ. ΤΟΒ. $\overline{\text{ΝΕ}}$ $\overline{\text{ΝΕ}}$ ΤΟΒ. ΤΟ$\overline{\text{ΚΑ}}$ ΤΟΒ ΤΟΔ.

A similar enumeration of titles and numerals occurs in Latin inscriptions, used by the Attics to the offices holden by the emperors or their heirs. See Gruter, p. 235, art. 7, 8, 9, 10; p. 243, art. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; for the Inscriptions of Minerva. See also Gruter, p. 245, art. 6, 7, 8.

In general, inscriptions run Η ΒΟΥΛΗ or Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ or Ο ΔΑΜΟΣ, as in N^os^ 6, 11, 14, 16, 19, 23, 24, 39, 42, 43, 44, 64, 65, 66, 67, 100, of Spon's *Marmora Græca;* or Α ΒΟΥΛΑ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΑΜΟΣ, as on a marble which I saw in the Isle of Cos, now called Stancio, on the left hand of the gate of the town entering from the sea. The same inscription is also given in Spon (see N° 51); and a similar instance occurs in N° 79. In N° 45 a different order is observed, ΕΔΟΞΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΔΗΜΩΙ. But sometimes the word ΠΟΛΙΣ occurs, as in N° 41 of Spon.

At the end of the fifth and sixth lines the reading is obscure, for want of the different names of the Flavii, a continuation of which is evidently given. The Reader must supply them by conjecture, after consulting Gruter's Inscriptions for the word Flavius, from page 178 to 180. It might also be possible to discover what offices they held among the Tithoreans.

At the end of the fifth line I have ventured to insert an Ω, ΣΩΚΛΑΡΟΣ being a name that occurs in the Morals of Plutarch; and, as Wheler mentions in his Travels

that he saw at Phria an inscription dedicated to one Titus Flavius Aristus, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ in the sixth line may have the preference to any other word.

As to the construction, the verb signifying HONOUR is understood; and this frequently happens. It is omitted upon the Iliac Pillar, which I brought from the Plain of Troy, and now stands in the Vestibule of the Public Library. Professor PORSON believed it to be nearly as antient as the archonship of Euclid. The words of that Inscription appear in the following order[k]:

ΑΙΚΟΙΝΟΝΟΥΣΑΙΤΗΣΘΥΣΙΑΣ
ΚΑΙΤΟΥΑΓΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΤΗΣ
ΓΑΝΗΓΥΡΕΩΣ
ΓΥΘΑΝ
ΣΚΑΜΑΝΔΡΟΤΙΜΟΥΙΛΙΑΔΑ
ΚΑΛΩΣΚΑΙΑΞΙΩΣΚΑΝΗΦΟ
ΡΗΣΑΣΑΝΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ
ΕΝΕΚΕΝΤΗΣΓΡΟΣΤΗΝΘΕΟΝ

Here the verb signifying HONOUR is understood. The same omission appears also in N^os^ 6, 14, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 53, 65, of Spon's *Marmora Græca*. The verb is also omitted in N° 45 of the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, part the second.

[k] It is given very inaccurately by Akerblad; as may be seen in the third volume of Chevalier's Account of Troy.

The passage in Herodotus (lib. viii. c. 32) respecting the city Neon and Tithorea has been the subject of frequent dispute. The alteration of κειμένη into κειμένην, which suggested itself to Dr. Parr, is confirmed by Stephens, Valla, and Valckenaer; and the emendation of ἐπ' αὐτῆς for ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς proposed by Wesseling renders the whole sentence clear and satisfactory. The Reader, after perusing the remarks of Gronovius, Valekenaer, and Wesseling on the subject, will be induced to coincide in opinion with Dr. Parr, that this ought to be the punctuation and reading of the passage: ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδέη δέξασθαι ὅμιλον τοῦ Παρνήσσου ἡ κορυφὴ κατὰ Νεῶνα πόλιν κειμένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς. In the remarks of the critics above mentioned, the Reader will observe, that Gronovius having rejected the alteration proposed by Stephens, advances his own; to which it may be objected, first, with Wesseling, that *oppidum adstrui montis solet vertici, non vertex urbi*; secondly, that the situation of ἐπ' ἑωϋτῆς with regard to δέξασθαι renders the construction harsh and intricate. The explanation affixed by Valckenaer to χειμένην ἐπ' ἑωϋτῆς is more ingenious than true; for to justify the usage of ἐπὶ according to the manner suggested by that critic, it is

necessary that the preposition should allude to, or be preceded by things which are ἔμψυχα. The instances adduced by him have this reference;* they consequently militate against his explanation of the passage in Herodotus, wherein ἐπὶ alludes to πόλιν. It is true that persons are said to be ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, or ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν, but a city may not therefore be said to be ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς. The alteration proposed by Wesseling obviates all difficulties, and fully elucidates the passage in the Greek historian: it has been embraced by Larcher, who has not, however, assigned any reason for the preference.

# POSTSCRIPT.

THE Author cannot conclude this Work without acknowledging his obligations

To his friend Mr. TYRWHITT, for the kind indulgence of being permitted to interrupt his studies, whenever it was necessary to consult his learning or be guided by his judgement.

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To Mr. MATHIAS, for his judicious and learned advice in the revisal of the Work.

To Mr. W. ALEXANDER, for the very faithful representation of the Sarcophagus, in the First Plate. To Mr. Alexander's talents the Public are already indebted for the drawings which illustrate Sir George Staunton's Account of the British Embassy to China. His genius and accuracy, assisted by Mr. MEDLAND as Engraver, are now employed in representing the Antiquities sent to this country by Lord Hutchinson, after the conquest of Egypt.

☞ P. 42, note [k]. The Poem cited by Gibbon was the production of a Greek author of the sixth century.

A chronological error occurs in the marginal note, p. 53, and in note [y], p. 77. Alexander was buried in 321 B.C. Aristotle died in 322.

The Reader is requested to substitute an ε for an η in the word Σηβῆρος, p. 58, note [k]; to erase *not* before the words *be attributed*, p. 76, note [t]; and for *third Appendix*, p. 86, note [n], to read *Appendix, N° IV.*

## DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

N. B. The References to the Plates relate to the order in which they are printed in the List at the beginning of the Work. But as many Readers may choose to give them a more appropriate situation, the Binder is directed to insert them as follows:

1. *The Sarcophagus* . . . . . to face the Title.
2. *The Portrait of Alexander* . . . . . page 23.
3. *View of the Mosque of St. Athanasius* . . . . . page 28.
4. *Plan and Dimensions of the Sarcophagus* . . . . . page 41.
5. *Ground Plan of the Mosque of St. Athanasius* . . . . page 61.

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